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THE FOREIGN VOCABULARY OF THE QUR'ĀN

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THE FOREIGN VOCABULARY OF THE QUR'ĀN

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TO MY WIFE

FOREWORD

Little further advance can be made in our interpretation of the Qur'ān or of the life of Muhammad, until an exhaustive study has been made of the vocabulary of the Qur'ān. It is interesting to note how recent work at Islamic origins, such as that done by the late Professor Horovitz and his pupils at Frankfurt, and in the books of Tor Andrae and Karl Ahrens, has tended to run to a discussion of vocabulary. The Qur'ān is the first Arabic book, for though there was earlier poetry, it was not written down till much later, and some doubts have been raised as to the genuineness of what did get written down. For the interpretation of this first Arabic book, we have been content until recently to turn to the classical commentaries, but the tendency of the commentators is to interpret the book in the light of the Arabic language of their own day, and with few exceptions their philological lucubrations are of more interest for the study of the development of Muslim thought about the Qur'ān, than they are for settling the meaning the words must have had for the Prophet and for those who listened to his utterances.

Some day, it is to be hoped, we shall have a Glossary to the Qur'ān comparable with the great *Worterbucher* we have to the Old and New Testaments, in which all the resources of philology, epigraphy, and textual criticism will be utilized for a thorough investigation of the vocabulary of the Qur'ān. Meanwhile this present Essay attempts to make one small contribution to the subject by studying a number of the non Arabic elements in the Qur'ānic vocabulary.

Emphasis has been placed in recent years on the too long forgotten fact that Arabia at the time of Muhammad was not isolated from the rest of the world, as Muslim authors would have us believe. There was at that time, as indeed for long before, full and constant contact with the surrounding peoples of Syria, Persia, and Abyssinia, and through intercourse there was a natural interchange of vocabulary. Where the Arabs came in contact with higher religion and higher civilization, they borrowed religious and cultural terms. This fact was fully recognized by the earliest circle of Muslim exegetes, who show no hesitation in noting words as of Jewish, Christian, or Iranian

origin Later, under the influence of the great divines, especially of ash Shāfi'ī, this was pushed into the background, and an orthodox doctrine was elaborated to the effect that the Qur'ān was a unique production of the Arabic language The modern Muslim savant, indeed, is as a rule seriously distressed by any discussion of the foreign origin of words in the Qur'ān

To the Western student the Jewish or Christian origin of many of the technical terms in the Qur'ān is obvious at the first glance, and a little investigation makes it possible to identify many others These identifications have been made by many scholars whose work is scattered in many periodicals in many languages The present Essay is an attempt to gather them up and present them in a form convenient for the study of interested scholars both in the East and the West

The Essay was originally written in 1926, and in its original form was roughly four times the size of the present volume It would have been ideal to have published it in that form, but the publishing costs of such a work with full discussion and illustrative quotation, would have been prohibitive The essential thing was to place in the hands of students a list of these foreign words which are recognized as such by our modern scholarship, with an indication of their probable origin, and of the sources to which the student may turn for fuller discussion Our own discussion has therefore been cut down to the minimum consistent with intelligibility The same reason has made it necessary to omit the Appendix, which consisted of the Arabic text, edited from two MSS in the Royal Library at Cairo, of as Suyūti's *al Muḥadhdhab*, which is the original treatise at the basis of his chapter on the foreign words in the *Itqān* and of his tractate entitled *al Mutawakkilī*

In making a choice of such references to the old poets as remain, it was thought better to retain those used in the older works of reference which would be generally accessible to students, rather than make a display of learning by references to a host of more modern works dealing with the early poetry In the case of references to Iranian sources, however, the author, for lack of library facilities, has been compelled to limit himself to the few texts, now somewhat antiquated which were available to him in Cairo

No one is more conscious than the author of the limitations of his philological equipment for the task A work of this nature could

have been adequately treated only by a Noldeke, whose intimate acquaintance with the literatures of the Oriental languages involved, none of us in this generation can emulate. With all its limitations and imperfections, however, it is hoped that it may provide a foundation from which other and better equipped scholars may proceed in the important task of investigation of the Qur'ānic vocabulary.

For reasons of general convenience the verse numbering of the Qur'ān citations is throughout that of Flügel's edition, not the Kūfan verse numbering followed in the Egyptian standard text.

The thanks of the author, as of all students interested in Oriental research, are due in a special manner to the kindness and generosity of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda, which have permitted the work to appear in the series published under his august patronage.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Act Or</i> ✓	<i>Acta Orientalia</i> , ediderunt Societates Orientales Batava, Danica, Norvegica Lugd Batav 1923 ff
<i>AIW</i> ✓	<i>Altiranisches Wörterbuch</i> (Bartholomae)
<i>AJSL</i> ✓	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages</i>
<i>BA</i> ✓	<i>Lexicon Syriacum of Bar Abi</i>
<i>Bagh</i> ✓	<i>Al Baghawī s Commentary on the Qur'ān</i>
<i>Bavd</i> ✓	<i>Al Bawdāwī s Commentary on the Qur'ān</i>
<i>BB</i> ✓	<i>Lexicon Syriacum of Bar Bahlul</i>
<i>BDB</i> ✓	Brown Driver and Briggs <i>Oxford Hebrew Lexicon</i>
<i>Bev Ass</i> ✓	<i>Beiträge für Assyriologie</i>
<i>BGA</i> ✓	De Goeje s <i>Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum</i>
<i>BQ</i> ✓	<i>Lexicon Persicum, Burhān i Qaṭi</i> Calcutta, 1818
<i>CIS</i> ✓	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</i>
<i>Dw Hudh</i> ✓	<i>The Dwan of the Hudhailites</i> Part I ed Kosegarten part II ed Wellhausen
<i>EI</i> ✓	<i>Encyclopædia of Islam</i>
<i>ERE</i> ✓	<i>Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics</i>
<i>GA</i> ✓	Lagarde s <i>Gesammelte Abhandlungen</i>
<i>GGA</i> ✓	<i>Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen</i>
<i>HAA</i> ✓	<i>Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde</i> 1 Kopenhagen 1927
<i>JA</i> ✓	<i>Journal asiatique</i>
<i>Jal</i> ✓	<i>The Qur'an Commentary of Jalālāwī</i>
<i>JAOS</i> ✓	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JASB</i> ✓	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i>
<i>JE</i> ✓	<i>The Jewish Encyclopædia</i>
<i>JRAS</i> ✓	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
<i>JThS</i> ✓	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>KU</i> ✓	Horowitz s <i>Koranische Untersuchungen</i>
<i>LA</i> ✓	<i>The Arabic Lexicon Lisān al Arab</i>
<i>MGWJ</i> ✓	<i>Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums</i>
<i>MVAG</i> ✓	<i>Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft</i>
<i>MW</i> ✓	<i>The Moslem World</i>
<i>NSI</i> ✓	Cooke s <i>North Semitic Inscriptions</i>
<i>OLZ</i> ✓	<i>Orientalische Literaturzeitung</i>
<i>PPGI</i> ✓	<i>Pahlavi Pazend Glossary</i>
<i>PSBA</i> ✓	<i>Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology</i>
<i>PSm</i> ✓	Payne Smith s <i>Thesaurus Syriacus</i>
<i>REJ</i> ✓	<i>Revue des Études juives</i>
<i>RES</i> ✓	<i>Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique</i>
<i>ROC</i> ✓	<i>Revue de l'orient chrétien</i>
<i>SBAW</i> ✓	<i>Sitzungsberichte der königl Akad d Wissenschaft (Berlin or Wien)</i>
<i>TA</i> ✓	<i>The Arabic Lexicon Tāj al 'Arus</i>
<i>Tab</i> ✓	<i>At Ṭabarī s Commentary on the Qur'ān</i>
<i>ThLZ</i> ✓	<i>Theologisches Literaturzeitung</i>
<i>TW</i> ✓	<i>Targumisches Wörterbuch</i> , ed Levy
<i>WZKM</i> ✓	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
<i>ZA</i> ✓	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
<i>Zam</i> ✓	Az Zamakhsharī s <i>Commentary on the Qur'ān</i>
<i>ZATW</i> ✓	<i>Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZDMG</i> ✓	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
<i>ZS</i> ✓	<i>Zeitschrift für Semistik</i>

INTRODUCTION

One of the few distinct impressions gleaned from a first perusal of the bewildering confusion of the Qur'ān, is that of the amount of material therein which is borrowed from the great religions that were active in Arabia at the time when the Qur'ān was in process of formation. From the fact that Muhammad was an Arab, brought up in the midst of Arabian paganism and practising its rites himself until well on into manhood,¹ one would naturally have expected to find that Islam had its roots deep down in this old Arabian paganism. It comes, therefore, as no little surprise, to find how little of the religious life of this Arabian paganism is reflected in the pages of the Qur'ān. The names of a few old deities², odd details of certain pagan ceremonies connected with rites of sacrifice and pilgrimage³, a few deep rooted superstitions connected with Jinn, etc., and some fragments of old folk tales,⁴ form practically all the traces one can discover therein of this ancient religion in the midst of whose devotees Muhammad was born and bred. It may be true, as Rudolph insists,⁵ that in many passages of the Qur'an the Islamic varnish only thinly covers a heathen substratum, but even a cursory reading of the book makes it plain that Muhammad drew his inspiration not from the religious life and experiences of his own land and his own people, but from the great monotheistic religions which were pressing down into Arabia in his day.⁶ Most of the personages who move through the pages of the Qur'an, viz Ibrāhīm, Mūsā, Dawūd, Sulaimān, Nūh, 'Isā, are well known Biblical characters. So also the place names—Bābīl, Rūm, Madyan, Sabā', and many of the commonest religious terms—Shaitān, Tawrah, Injīl, Sakīna, Firdaus, Jahannam, are equally familiar to all who know the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. So one is not surprised

¹ Convincing proof of this is found in the statement of the Prophet quoted in Yaqut *Mu jam* iii 664 to the effect that on a certain occasion he sacrificed a ewe to 'Uzzā which he excuses on the ground that at that time he was following the religion of his people.

² Sūra lvi, 19-20 lxxv 22-23

³ ii 153 xxii 28-30 v 1-4 xxii 37

⁴ Such as those of Ād and Thamud

⁵ *Abhangigkei* 26, n 9. His reference here is to Sūras cxiii cxiv in particular, but the statement is true of many passages elsewhere.

⁶ Noldeke Schwally ii 121 Buhl *EI* ii, 1066 Ahrens *Muhammed als Religionsstifter* 22 ff

at the judgment of some of the earlier investigators, such as Marracci, *Prodromus*, 1, 41 "Ita ut Alcoranus sit mixtura trium legum, seu religionum, Hebraicae, Christianae, et Israeliticae, additis paucis quiesquillis, quae e cerebro suo Mahumetus extraxit"

Closer examination of the question reveals even further and more detailed correspondences than these which appear on the surface,¹ and forces on one the conviction that not only the greater part of the religious vocabulary, but also most of the cultural vocabulary of the Qur'ān is of non Arabic origin. The investigation of the "Fremd worter" of the Qur'ān thus becomes a question of primary importance for the study of the origins of Islam, for as Hirschfeld remarks "One of the principal difficulties before us is to ascertain whether an idea or expression was Muhammad's spiritual property or borrowed from elsewhere, how he learnt it and to what extent it was altered to suit his purposes"² By tracing these words back to their sources we are able to estimate to some extent the influences which were working upon Muhammad at various periods in his Mission, and by studying these religious terms in their native literature contemporary with Muhammad, we can sometimes understand more exactly what he himself means by the terms he uses in the Qur'ān

Quite early in the history of Islam Muslims themselves were confronted with the perplexing problem of these foreign words, for it presented itself immediately they were called upon to face the task of interpreting their Scripture. With the death of the Prophet and the cutting off of the fountain of revelation, came the necessity of collecting the scattered fragments of this Revelation and issuing them in book form³ Then as the Qur'ān thus collected became recognized as the ultimate source of both religion and law, there came the necessity of interpretation⁴ The primary source of such interpretation was the immediate circle of the Prophet's Companions who were naturally

¹ I see Rudolph *Abhängigkeit des Korans von Judenthum und Christenthum* 1922 and Ahrens *Christliches im Koran* 1930

² *New Researches* p 4

³ The popular Muslim account of the collection is given in as Suyūṭī *Itq* 135 and in many other well known works e.g. *Fakhr* 24 Ya qubī, *Historia* II 152 Ibn al Athīr *Chronicon* (ed Tornberg), II 279 III 86 See also Noldeke Schwally II 11 ff and the criticism in Caetani *Annali* VII pp 407-418

⁴ Goldziher *Richtungen* 55 ff

supposed to know best what the Prophet meant in many of his revelations¹, so the tendency grew in later days to trace back all explanations to this circle, with the result that we frequently find various conflicting opinions traced back through different chains of authorities to the same person²

Now it is conceivable that there may have been correct tradition from the Prophet himself in many cases as to the interpretation of some of the strange words that meet us in the Qur ān, but if so, it is evident that this tradition was soon lost,³ for by the time the classical exegetes came to compile their works there was a bewildering entanglement of elaborate lines of conflicting tradition as to the meaning of these words, all emanating from the same small circle of the Prophet's immediate Companions. Numerous examples of this can be found on almost every page of the great Commentaries of at-Tabarī, al-Baghawī, or ar-Razī, but a typical case may be cited here in illustration.

Thrice in the Qur ān⁴ we find mention of a people called Sabians, الصابور, who with the Jews and Christians (أهل الكتاب), and the Magians, receives special recognition and favour. Yet as to the identity of these Sabians we find among the authorities the widest divergences. Thus at-Tabarī, in commenting on ii, 59, tells us that some held that they were a community without a religion, others said they were a monotheistic sect but without a Book or a Prophet, others said they worshipped angels, and others that they were a community of the People of the Book who followed the *Zabūr* (زبور), as the Jews followed the *Taurah* and the Christians the *Injil*. Later writers have a still greater variety of opinions about them, that they were star worshippers, descendants of the people of Noah, or some sect midway between

¹ Quite early we find popular opinion claiming that only the Companions or followers of Companions were capable of giving correct interpretations of the difficulties of the Qur ān.

² e.g. in commenting on الروم in xviii 8 at-Tabarī gives us lines of tradition all going back to Ibn Abbas to prove that *Raḡm* means a village, a valley, a writing or a mountain. Thus we are forced to conclude either that Ibn Abbas is a very unsafe authority whose opinion on the meaning of important words varied considerably at different times, or that the lines of tradition are worthless.

³ Lists of interpretations coming from the Prophet himself are given by some writers e.g. as Suyutī *Itqān* 918 ff (and see Goldziher *Richtungen* 64) but such have little value.

⁴ ii 59 v 73 xxii 17

Jews and Christians, or between Jews and Magians—and in all these cases the chains of tradition go back, of course, to the immediate circle of the Prophet. It would seem almost incredible that when the Qur'ān grants special privilege and protection to four communities as true believers, no exact tradition as to the identity of one of these communities should have survived till the time when the Traditionists and Exegetes began their work of compilation. The facts, however, are plain, and if so much uncertainty existed on so important a matter as the identity of a protected community, one can imagine how the case stands with regard to unimportant little details which are of profound interest to the philologist to day, but which, in the early days of Islam, had no doctrinal or political significance to bring them prominently before the attention of the Muslim savants.

The traditional account of the development of Qur'anic exegesis,¹ of which this problem of the foreign words forms a part, makes it begin with Ibn 'Abbas, a cousin of the Prophet whom later writers consider to have been the greatest of all authorities on this subject.²

He is called the *رحمان القرآن*, the *بحر* or sea of Qur'anic science, the *حرر الأمة* Rabbi of the Community, and many traditions give wonder

ful accounts of his vast erudition and infallible scholarship.³ Modern scholarship, however, has not been able to endorse this judgment,⁴ and looks with considerable suspicion on most traditions going back to Ibn 'Abbas. It would seem, however, that he had access to stores of information supplied by Jewish converts such as Ka'b b. Matī' and Wahb b. Munabbih,⁵ so that frequently, although his own interpretation of a word or verse may be of little value, the material he produces

from these authorities with the phrase *رعم كعب*, etc., may be of the first importance. Tradition also credits Ibn 'Abbas with founding a

¹ as Suyuṭī *Itq* 908 ff. gives an account of the earliest exegesis of the Qur'an Goldziher *Richtungen* chaps. 1 and 11.

² Ergilt als Übermenschdestafür, as Goldziher neatly expresses it *Richtungen* 65.

³ See an Nawawī 351-4. Ibn Hajar's *Isaba* 11 802-813 (and *Kamil* 566-9 for examples of his authoritative explanation).

⁴ Siddiqī 12-13 treats him with more deference than is merited. As illustrating the opinion of modern scholarship we may note the judgment of three very different savants: Buhl *FI* 1 20; Nöldeke *Sketches* p. 108; Sacco *Credeenze* p. viii.

⁵ Usually called Ka'b al-Aḥbar. See an Nawawī 523. Ibn Hajar 111 635-639 *EI* 11 582.

⁶ See an Nawawī 619.

School of Qur'ānic Exegesis, and gives him several famous pupils, notable among whom were Mujāhid,¹ 'Ikrima,² Ibn Jubair,³ 'Aṭā',⁴ and Ibn Abī Rabāh.⁵ It is probable that all these men had more or less contact with Ibn 'Abbas, but it is hardly correct to think of them as pupils of his in this science or as carrying on his tradition as a School in the way we speak of the pupils of the great Jewish Doctors. Any student of the Tafsīr will have noticed how much of the traditional exegesis is traced back to this group, much of it possibly quite correctly, and this is particularly true of the statements as to the foreign words in the Qur'an,⁶ so that al Jawahiri at the commencement of his *Mu'arrab*⁷ can shield himself behind their authority from any accusation of unorthodoxy.

It is clear that in the earliest circle of exegetes it was fully recognized and frankly admitted that there were numerous foreign words in the Qur'an. Only a little later, however, when the dogma of the eternal nature of the Qur'an was being elaborated, this was as strenuously denied, so that al Jawahiri can quote on the other side the statement of Abū 'Ubaida⁸ as given by al Hasan— 'I heard Abū 'Ubaida say that whoever pretends that there is in the Qur'an anything other than the Arabic tongue has made a serious charge against God, and he quoted the verse "Verily we have made it an Arabic Qur'an"'.⁹ The question is discussed by many Muslim writers, and is excellently summarized by as Suyūṭī in the Introduction to his treatise *Al Muhadḍḥab*, and further in chap. xxxviii of his *Itqān* (Calcutta ed., pp. 314–326). The discussion is of sufficient interest to engage our attention here.

¹ Mujāhid b. Jabr died in A.D. 719 at the age of 83. See an Nawawī 540 adh Dhahabī 1 14.

² He was a Berber slave of Ibn 'Abbas and died about A.D. 723 at the age of 80. He is said to have travelled widely in Iraq, Khorasan, Egypt, and S. Arabia. See an Nawawī 431. Yāqut *Irshād* v. 62 ff. adh Dhahabī 1 14.

³ Sa'id Ibn Jubair died in A.D. 713 at the age of 49. See adh Dhahabī 1 11 an Nawawī 278.

⁴ 'Aṭā b. Yasar died in A.D. 712. See an Nawawī 424 adh Dhahabī 1 13.

⁵ 'Aṭā b. Abī Rabāh died in A.D. 733. See an Nawawī 422 adh Dhahabī 1 16.

⁶ A glance at as Suyūṭī's *Mutawakkil* will serve to show how large a proportion of the foreign words he treats are traced back to the authority of one or other of the members of this circle.

⁷ Fd Sachau p. 4 quoted also by al Khafajī 3 قال ابو عبده وروى عن ابن عباس وعكرمه وعكرمه في احرف كثيرة انه من عرب لسان العرب.

⁸ Abū 'Ubaida Ma'mar b. al Muthanna, the great Humanist of the reign of Harun ar Rashid who was of Judæo-Persian origin and a student of the rare words in Arabic. See *Fihrist* 53–54. Ibn Khallikān iii 388. al Anbarī *Tabaqat al 'Udaba* 137. an Nawawī 748. Siddiqi *Studies* 29.

⁹ as Suyūṭī *Itqān* 315 gives the tradition a little differently.

It appears that in the Schools a majority of authorities were against the existence of foreign words in the Qur'an "The Imāms differ," says as-Suyūṭī (*Itq*, 314) "as to the occurrence of foreign words in the Qur'ān, but the majority, among whom are the Imam ash Shafī'ī,¹ and Ibn Jarīr,² and Abū 'Ubaida, and the Qaḍī Abū Bakr,³ and Ibn Farīs,⁴ are against their occurrence therein' The fundamental argument of these authorities is that the Qur'an in many passages refers to itself as an Arabic Qur'an,⁵ and they lay particular

stress on the passage xli, 44 وَلَوْحَكُمْ لَقَالُوا لَوْلَا

فُصِّلَتْ آيَاتُهُ الْأَعْجَمِيَّةُ وَعَرَبِيَّةٌ 'Now had we made it a foreign Qur'an they would have said—Why are its signs not made plain? Is it foreign and Arabic?'⁶ The Qur'an thus lays stress on the fact that this revelation has been sent down in a form

which the Arabs will easily understand—لَعَلَّكُمْ تَعْقِلُونَ—and how,

¹ This is the great Jurist who died in A.D. 820. He seems to have been particularly vehement in his denial of the existence of non Arabic elements in the Qur'an for as Suyūṭī says *فهد سد السامى الكبر على العال بذلك* (*Itq* 315)

² This is at Tabarī the well known commentator whose full name was Abu Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr at Tabarī (A.D. 838–923) whom as Suyūṭī frequently quotes under the name Ibn Jarīr. The reference here is to his great Commentary in the Introduction to which he treats of this question of Fremdwörter.

³ This is in all probability the Qaḍī Abu Bakr al Baqlanī whose book *أعجاز القرآن* as Suyūṭī mentions among his sources for the compilation of the *Itqān* cf. *Itq* 14.

⁴ Abu l-Husain Aḥmad b. Farīs of Qazwīn also very frequently quoted by as Suyūṭī both in the *Itqān* and in the *Muzḥir* as well as in his smaller works. See Yaqut's *Irshād* ii 6 and for his works *Fihrist* 80. Hajjī Khalifa 770 and Flügel *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber* (Leipzig 1862) p. 246.

⁵ e.g. *لساناً عربياً* xvi 2 *لولا* xli 2 *xxxix* 29 *لولا* xli 5 *لولا* xlii 2 *لولا* xlii 2 etc.

⁶ Some points in this translation need a note. First the *لولا* is usually rendered as 'unless' and the sentence left an unfinished one. In Qur'anic Arabic however *لولا* seems to be used frequently as a simple interrogative (cf. Reckendorff *Syntax* p. 35. Noldeke *Neue Beiträge* p. 21) and Tab. on this verse expressly takes it as meaning *هل*. As *آيات* properly means 'signs' that rendering has been left here though this is one of the passages where it approaches very near its later sense of 'verses'. The concluding words are capable of many interpretations the usual being to contrast the clauses as 'Is it a foreign Qur'an and they to whom it is sent Arabs? or Is it a foreign Qur'an and he who speaks an Arab?'

⁷ xlii, 2, xlii, 2 etc.

they ask, could the Arabs have been expected to understand it, were it sent down in a non Arabic tongue ? ¹

Others took a different line of argument, and claimed that the existence of foreign words in the Qur'an would be a reflection on the sufficiency of Arabic as a medium for the divine revelation. The Qur'an, said the theologians, is the final and most perfect of divine revelations, and Allah naturally chose to reveal the final revelation in the most perfect of all languages, so how can one pretend that Arabic was lacking in the necessary religious vocabulary, and that Allah had to borrow Nabataean or Persian or Syriac words to express His purpose ? as Suyūṭi (*Itq*, 315) quotes Ibn Faris as representative of this attitude ' Ibn Faris said that if there is therein anything from a language other than Arabic that would raise a suspicion that Arabic was imperfect as compared with other tongues, so that it had to come in a language they did not know ' If asked to account for the fact that the early authorities had great difficulty in explaining certain words which they were forced to conclude must be of foreign origin, a thing which would hardly have been likely were they ordinary Arabic words, the advocates of this view reply that the Arabic language is so rich and copious that it is practically beyond the powers of any ordinary mortal to encompass all its variety,² so it is no wonder if certain words were strange to the interpreters. In illustration of this they refer to a tradition that Ibn 'Abbās was uncertain about the meaning of the word **فاطر** until one day he overheard two desert Arabs quarrelling over a well, when suddenly one of them said **إنا وطر تها**, and immediately its meaning became clear ³ If further asked how the Prophet could have known all these words, they quote the dictum of

¹ Dvořák reminds us (*Fremdwörter* 5) that Muḥammad himself used these words **فأجابهم** to reply to the charge of his contemporaries that a foreigner instructed him (xvi 105 xxv 5 xlv 13) his argument being—what he hears from this foreigner is a foreign tongue whereas he himself understands only Arabic. Yet the Qur'an is Arabic which they understand perfectly so their charge is false for how could they understand the Qur'an if it were composed of what he learned from this foreigner ? This argument does not seem to have had much effect in convincing the Meccans to whom it was addressed (see Osborn *Islam under the Arabs* 20 21) though later Muslim theologians regarded it as conclusive.

² So as Suyūṭi *Itq* 315 **ولكن له العرب مسمه حذا ولا سعد ان يحكى على الاكابر**
الحله

³ *Vide Baḍ*, on vi 14

ash Shafi'ī, لا يحيط بالله إلا بي "None but a Prophet thoroughly comprehends a language" ¹

The authority of the great philologists, however, carried much weight, and many were fain to admit that Ibn 'Abbas and his successors must have been right in stating that certain words were Abyssinian, or Persian, or Nabataean, and yet they were very unwilling to grant that Arabic was thus confessedly imperfect ² To meet the difficulty they came forward with the suggestion that these were odd cases of coincidence where Arabic and these other tongues happened to use the same word for the same thing, but which in the case of Arabic happened to be used for the first time in the Qur'an This, curiously enough, is the position taken by at Tabarī in his *Tafsīr*,³ and is even seriously defended at the present day by the ultra orthodox in spite of the overwhelming weight of the probabilities against such a series of coincidences, not to speak of the definite linguistic evidence of borrowing on the part of Arabic

This line of argument was not one which was likely to commend itself to many of the more instructed Muslim savants, so we are not surprised to find others taking up a more likely looking position and claiming that in cases where the two languages agree, it is the Abyssinian or Nabataean, or Syriac, or Persian which has borrowed from Arabic Since Arabic is the most perfect and richest of all languages, they argued, it is much more likely that the surrounding peoples would have borrowed vocabulary from the Arabs than that the Arabs took over words from them This, as Suyūṭī tells us, was the

¹ The reference is to ash Shafi'ī's *Risāla* (Cairo 1312) p 13 See further on this point Dvořák *Fremdu* 10 with his references to Goldziher *ZDMG* xxvi 768 There are several traditions as to Muhammad's great linguistic attainments and he is said to have been particularly skilled in Ethiopic cf Goldziher op cit 770 Perhaps the most curious of these traditions is that in *Kanz* ii 41 that the language of Ishmael was a lost tongue but that Gabriel came and instructed Muhammad therein

² This jealousy for the perfection of their language is characteristically Oriental An interesting example of it from a Syriac writer will be found in Budge's *Cave of Treasures* 1928 p 132

³ Cairo ed of 1323 vol i pp 6-9 on which see Loth in *ZDMG* xxxi 595 as Suyūṭī *Itq* 315 summarized his view Said Ibn Jarīr—What is handed down from Ibn 'Abbas and others on the interpretation of words of the Qur'an to the effect that they are Persian or Abyssinian or Nabataean etc only represents cases where there is coincidence among the languages so that the Arabs Persians and Abyssinians happen to use the same word There is an excellent example of this line of argument in as Sijstani 111

opinion of Shaidhala “ Said Abū’l Ma‘ālī ‘Azīzī b ‘Abd al Malīk,¹ these words are found in the Arabic language for it is the widest of languages and the most copious in vocabulary, so it is possible that it was the first to use these words which others then adopted ”²

The swing of the pendulum in the opposite direction is represented at its furthest extreme by those who say that the very fact of the Qur an being in Arabic is a proof that it is not a Divine Book, for had it been a heavenly revelation it would have come down in one of the Holy tongues, i e Hebrew or Syriac Unfortunately, we know little about the supporters of this opinion, but the fact that at Tabarī considers it necessary to refute them would seem to show that they exercised no inconsiderable influence in certain circles Such an extreme position, however, was never likely to gain general acceptance, and the popular view among such as were constrained to admit the conclusions of the philologists as to the existence of foreign words in the Qur an, was that this was not strange in view of the fact that the Qur ān is the final revelation The Qur an itself states that when a Prophet was sent to any people he preached in the language of that people so as to be understood by them Thus, e g we read in xiv, 4,

وَمَا أَرْسَلْنَا مِنْ رَّسُولٍ إِلَّا بِلِسَانِ قَوْمِهِ لِيُبَيِّنَ لَهُمْ and we have sent no Prophet save in the tongue of his own people that (his message) might be plain to them So it is obvious that the Qur an, being sent to the Arab people, must be in Arabic, but since it sums up and completes all previous revelations, it is only to be expected that technical terms of Hebrew and Syriac or other origin which were used in previous revelations should be included in this final revelation Moreover, as the Qur ān is intended for all peoples one should not be surprised to find in it something from all languages,³ a

¹ i e Shaidhala whom as Suyutī frequently quotes among his authorities *rule Itq* 13 *Mutaw* 45

² *Itq* 315

³ at Tabarī quotes in favour of this idea the savant Abu Maisara at Tabarī al Jāhīl whom as Suyutī *Itq* 316 also quotes adding that Saīd b Jubair and Wahb b Munabbih were of the same opinion and that Ibn an Naqīb claimed that one of the *حصائص* of the Qur an distinguishing it above all other Scriptures is that while it was revealed in the tongue of the people to whom it was first sent it also contains much of the tongues of the three great Empires of Roum Persia and Abvssinia Dvořák *Ikremduw* 11 12 points out that some Muslim writers have illustrated this point by taking the tradition of the seven *احرف* to refer to seven different languages from whose vocabulary something is used in the Qur an Here however there is no question of languages but of different Arab dialects (cf as Suyutī *Itq* 110 Ibn al Athīr *Nihaya* 1 250 251) so this is really irrelevant to the discussion

point which is sometimes emphasized by a reference to the claim that the Qur'an contains all previous knowledge, and information about everything, which would not be true if it did not contain all languages¹ Obviously all of all languages was not contained, but what was sweetest, most pleasant, and most suitable²

The most sensible statement on this whole question, however is that suggested by as Suyūṭī, *Itq*, 316, and expounded by ath Tha'ālībī³ in his *Kutāb al Jawāhir*, 1, 17 "In my opinion the truth of the matter is this The Qur'ān is in plain Arabic containing no word which is not Arabic or which cannot be understood without the help of some other language For these (so called foreign) words belonged to the (language of the) ancient Arabs, in whose tongue the Qur'ān was revealed, after they had had contact with other languages through commercial affairs and travel in Syria and Abyssinia, whereby the Arabs took over foreign words, altering some of them by dropping letters or lightening what was heavy in the foreign form Then they used these words in their poetry and conversation so that they became like pure Arabic and were used in literature and thus occur in the Qur'ān So if any Arab is ignorant about these words it is like his ignorance of the genuine elements of some other dialect just as Ibn 'Abbās did not know the meaning of *Fāṭir*, etc Thus the truth is that these words were foreign, but the Arabs made use of them and Arabicized them, so from this point of view they are Arabic⁴ As for at Tabarī's opinion that in these cases the two languages agree word for word, it is far fetched, for one of them is the original and the other a derivative as a rule, though we do not absolutely rule out coincidence in a few exceptional cases"

If challenged as to how, on this view, the Qur'ān could be called قرآن
عربيّ⁵ a plain Arabic Qur'an, its defenders reply with as Suyūṭī,⁵ that the presence of a few foreign words therein no more makes it

¹ as Suyūṭī *Itq* 316—an opinion which is quoted also by al Khafajī 3 and 4 See also *Itq* 322

² As as Suyūṭī says فاحس له من كل له اعدبها واحبها واكرها استعمالا للعرب

³ This is not the famous philologist whose *Fiqh al Lughā* we shall have occasion to quote frequently in the course of our work but a N African exegete Abd ar Rahman ath Tha alibi whose *Tafsir* was published in four volumes at Algiers in 1905

⁴ So al Jawalīqī *Mu'arrab* 5 says ان هذه الحروف عبر لسان العرب في الاصل لم تعط به العرب نالسدبها فعرسه فصار عربا تعربها انا فمى عربيه في هذه الحال
اعجمه الاصل⁵ *Itq* 315

non Arabic than the presence of many Arabic words in a Persian ode makes the ode non Persian. In any case the reference of *عرني مدين* ١٥ to the Qur'an as a whole, and not to individual words in it—as Suyūṭī even finds one authority¹ who considered that the presence in the Qur'an of such words as *استرق* and *سدس* for fine silk brocade,

اناريق and *سرادق* for precious spices, *مسك* and *رحيل* for other articles of luxury and civilization, is a proof of the excellence of the Qur'an, for the Qur'an was to tell men of the best things and thus could not be bound down and limited by the rude civilization of the Arabs of the Jahiliyya. Naturally the pre-Islamic Arabs had not words for many things belonging to the higher stage of civilization to which the Qur'an was to lead them and it was only natural that the Qur'an should use the new words that were necessary to describe the new excellences, words which indeed were not unknown to many of the Arabs of the Jahiliyya who had come into contact with the civilization of Persia and of Rōm.

So as Suyūṭī concludes with al-Jawāḥiq and Ibn al-Jauzī that both parties to the quarrel are right². The great philologists were right in claiming that there are foreign words in the Qur'an, for in regard to origin (*أصل*) these words are Persian or Syrian or Abyssinian. But the Imām ash-Shafi'ī and his followers are also right, for since these words have been adopted into the Arabic language and polished by the tongues of the Arabs, they are indeed Arabic³. So we can comfortably conclude—*قد اخطأت هذه الحروف بكلام العرب فمن قال انها عربية—*
فهو صادق ومن قال عجمية فصادق

Turning now to the question of the languages from which these

¹ *Itq* 316 317

² *Itq* 318 and al-Jawāḥiq *Mu'arrab* 5. The reference to Ibn al-Jauzī is doubtless to his *Funun al-Afḥan* which as Suyūṭī often quotes cf. *Itq* 13 and *Mutaw* 44.

³ Note as Suyūṭī's quotation on this point from Abu Ubaid al-Qasim b. Sallam a quotation which is also given with slight verbal alterations in *TA* 1:9 as from Abu Ubaida.

borrowed words came, we find that as Suyūṭī,¹ whose classification is the most complete that has come down to us, divides them in the *Muta wakkilī* into the following classes —

- (i) Words borrowed from Ethiopic (لسان الحبشة)
- (ii) Words borrowed from Persian (اللغة الفارسية)
- (iii) Words borrowed from Greek (اللغة الرومية)
- (iv) Words borrowed from Indian (اللغة الهندية)
- (v) Words borrowed from Syriac (اللغة السريانية)
- (vi) Words borrowed from Hebrew (اللغة العبرانية)
- (vii) Words borrowed from Nabatæan (اللغة النبطية)
- (viii) Words borrowed from Coptic (اللغة القبطية)
- (ix) Words borrowed from Turkish (اللغة التركية)
- (x) Words borrowed from Negro (اللغة النيجرية)
- (xi) Words borrowed from Berber (اللغة البربرية)

It is obvious at the first glance that much of this is mere guess work, and equally obvious that the philologists whom as Suyūṭī quotes had frequently very little conception of the meaning of the linguistic terms they use. It is necessary, therefore, to inquire a little more closely into what may have been meant by these terms and what may have been the possibilities of Arabic having drawn on any of these languages for religious and cultural vocabulary.

(i) *Abyssinian* —Philologically, Ethiopic, the ancient language of Abyssinia, is the most closely related to Arabic of all the Semitic tongues, Ethiopic and Arabic, with the languages of the S Arabian

¹ Sprenger's list 'Foreign Words Occurring in the Qoran' in *JASB* xxi (1872) pp 109-114 is taken from his MS of as Suyūṭī's *Al Muḥadḍḥab*

inscriptions, being grouped together as South Semitic as opposed to the North Semitic group. The modern Abyssinian languages, and particularly Amharic, have in some respects diverged very considerably from the ancient Ge'ez, but it was presumably this ancient language with which the Arabs were in contact in pre-Islamic days and during Muhammad's lifetime. These contacts, as a matter of fact, were fairly close. For some time previous to the birth of Muhammad the southern portion of Arabia had been under Abyssinian rule,¹ and tradition relates that Muhammad was born in the Year of the Elephant when Mecca was saved from the Abyssinian army which marched up under Abraha to destroy the city. It is practically certain that there were trade relations between Abyssinia and Arabia at a much earlier period than the Axumite occupation of Yemen,² and that friendly relations continued in spite of the Year of the Elephant is clear from the fact that Muhammad is said to have sent his persecuted followers to seek refuge in Abyssinia,³ and that the Meccan merchants employed a body of mercenary Abyssinian troops.⁴

That Muhammad himself had personal contact with people who spoke *لسان الحبشة* seems to be indicated from the fact that tradition tells us that his first nurse was an Abyssinian woman, Umm Aiman,⁵ that the man he chose as first Muazzim in Islam was Bilal al Habashi, and the tradition already noted that the Prophet was particularly skilled in the Ethiopic language.⁶

Abyssinian slaves appear to have been not uncommon in Mecca after the rout of the famous army of the Elephant,⁷ and it would not have been difficult for Muhammad in his boyhood to have learned many words of religious significance from such sources.⁸ It must

¹ at Tabari *Annales* i 926 ff. Ibn Hisham 25 ff. al Mas'udi *Muruj* iii 157 and see particularly Noldeke's *Sasaniden* 186 ff.

² *EI* i 119 and Iammens *La Mecque* 281 ff.

³ This was in A.D. 616 and is known as the First Hijra. Cf. at Tabari *Annales* i 1181. Dvořák *Fremdw.* 25 would derive some of the Ethiopic elements in the Qur'an from the two Abyssinian migrations but this is hardly likely.

⁴ Iammens *Les Ahabish* in *JA* xix ser. vol. viii 1916 p. 425 ff.

⁵ Abu l-Fida *Vita Mohammedis* p. 2 and Nawawi 756.

⁶ *Infra* p. 8. al Khafaji 111 under *سبحه* gives an example of the Prophet's use of Ethiopic.

⁷ Azrakī p. 97. See also Essay I in Iammens *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'Hégire* Beyrouth 1928.

⁸ Sprenger *Moh. und der Koran* p. 54 suggests that the mentor referred to in Sura xvi 105 xxv 5-6 may have been an Abyssinian.

also be borne in mind that during the Axumite occupation of S Arabia many Ethiopic words of cultural significance may have come into current use in Arabia through commercial and political intercourse ¹

(ii) *Persian*—The contacts between Arabia and the Sasanian Empire of Persia were very close in the period immediately preceding Islam. The Arab Kingdom centring in al-Hira on the Euphrates had long been under Persian influence and was a prime centre for the diffusion of Iranian culture among the Arabs,² and in the titanic struggle between the Sasanian and Byzantine Empires, where al Hira had been set against the kingdom of Ghassān, other Arab tribes became involved and naturally came under the cultural influence of Persia ³ The court of the Lakhmids at al Hira was in pre Islamic times a famous centre of literary activity. The Christian poet Adī b Zaid lived long at this court, as did the almost Christian al A sha, and their poems are full of Persian words ⁴ Other poets also, such as Tarafa and his uncle Mutalammis, Al Harith b Hiliza, 'Amr b Kulthūm, etc., had more or less connection with al Hira,⁵ while in some accounts we find 'Abid b al Abras and others there. There is some evidence to suggest that it was from al Hira that the art of writing spread to the rest of the Arabian peninsula ⁶ But not only along the Mesopotamian area was Persian influence felt. It was a Persian general and Persian influence which overthrew the Abyssinian suzerainty in S Arabia during Muhammad's lifetime,⁷ and there is even a suspicion of Persian influence in Mecca itself. How far Persian cultural influence penetrated the peninsula we have little means of telling but it will be remembered that one of Muhammad's rivals was

¹ It has been noted by more than one scholar that the terms connected with sea-faring and sea-borne trade seem to be greatly influenced by Ethiopic. Andrae (*Ursprung* 15) speaking of this Axumite occupation says: 'Mit den neuen Herrschern kamen aber sicher auch Geistliche herüber und wir dürfen annehmen dass eine grosse Zahl der äthiopischen Lehnwörter als Bezeichnung für kultische und religiöse Dinge die uns im Koran begegnen während dieser Periode ihren Weg in den arabischen Sprachschatz gefunden haben.'

² Rothstein *Die Dynastie der Lakhmiden in al Hira passim* and Siddiqi 76.

³ We even hear of Arabs in that region becoming Zoroastrians *vide* note on اسدي in Siddiqi 79.

⁴ Ibn Qutaiba *Shi'r* 136 f. Siddiqi 82 ff. gives examples from other poets showing how great was the Persian influence on the poetry of that period.

⁵ Nicholson *Literary History* p. 107 and Shanqit's introduction to the *Mu'allaqat* Cairo 1338.

⁶ Rothstein *Lakhmiden* 27.

⁷ at Tabari *Annales* i. 948 ff. Ibn Hisham 41-6. Hamza *Annales* 139 and see Spiegel, *Iranische Altertumskunde* iii, 454.

an Naḍr b al Hārith, who frequently drew away the Prophet's audiences by his tales of Rustam and Isfandiyar ¹

By فارسی the Muslim writers obviously mean the later Persian language which was known to them when Persia had long been an important part of the Islamic Empire, but the language which would have been known in Arabia in pre Islamic times, the language with which Muhammad himself may have come in contact, was Pahlavi, the official language of the Sasanian Empire (A D 226-640) ² This Pahlavi was a curious language whose written form was strangely compounded with Semitic elements, but which in its spoken form doubtless represented a more archaic form of the Persian we find in the later Muslim literature of Persia, though with a greater admixture of Semitic words

The fact that the pre Islamic and early Muslim contacts with Persia were with a people using Middle and not Modern Persian has frequently been forgotten by Oriental investigators into the foreign elements in Arabic Thus Addai Sher on p 4 of the Introduction to

his study كتاب الالفاظ الفارسيه المعربه, in detailing the changes which Persian words have undergone in passing into Arabic, complains

that the Arabs frequently added a ح or a و at the end of words, e g

they wrote قرح and كوريه for the Persian قرح and كوريه

or قرو for the Persian كره In such cases, of course, the Arabic

ح or ق represents the Pahlavi suffix و k which in Modern Persian

becomes ه after a short vowel but is dropped after a long vowel ³ as

فرشته beside Arm ʒhrzmslk from Phlv ʒrzdmslk A good example

¹ Ibn Hisham 235 236 and see Blochet in *RHR* xl 20 ff Naḍr is supposed to be the person referred to in Sura xxxi 5

² Or Middle Persian as the philologists prefer to call it see Salemann in Geiger and Kuhn's *Grundriss* 1 and Noldeke *Zum Mittelpersischen* in *WZKM* xvi 1-12

³ Haug *Essay on the Pahlavi Language* p 33 in *PPGL* Herzfeld *Essay on Pahlavi* in *Parkuh* pp 52-73

⁴ *Vide* Haug *Essay on Pahlavi* p 117 and Blochet in *Revue Sémitique* iv 267 Note sur l'arabisation des mots persans

of this occurs in the Qur'ān in the word **استرق**, where the Persian word is **استره** and the Arabic **ق** and Persian **ه** represent a Pahlavi **و** which appears again very clearly in the Syriac **ܐܫܬܪܗ** and Armenian **ստերհ**, which are borrowed from the same Pahlavi word.

It is unfortunate that the Middle Persian literature which has survived to our own time has survived only in late copies, but we have every reason to believe, as in the similar case of the Hebrew codices of the O T, that the MSS in our hands represent the genuine ancient books very faithfully. What is even more unfortunate is that so little of the Pahlavi literature has come down to us. It will be noticed in any treatment of the Persian element in early Arabic that there are many cases where there can be little doubt that we are dealing with words borrowed from an Iranian source but where the only form which can be quoted in comparison is from Modern Persian, the older form from which the word would have been derived not having survived in the remnants of the Pahlavi literature which have come down to our day.¹

as Suyūṭī sometimes refers to Persian by the definite title **فارسية** and sometimes by the more indefinite **أعجمية** which like **عجمية** he also frequently uses as meaning nothing more than *foreign*. There is no ground, however, for thinking that any distinction of dialect is meant to be indicated by the varying use of these terms.

(iii) *Greek* — as Suyūṭī uses two terms for Greek in his discussion of the foreign words viz **رومية** and **يوناية**. Thus in discussing the word **رقيم** in *Itq* 321, he tells us that Shaidhala said it was **رومية** whereas on the same page in connection with the word **سرى** he quotes Shaidhala again as saying that the word was **يوناية**. Dvorak, *Fremdw*, 20, thinks that a distinction is being made here between ancient and medieval

¹ It is possible that a fuller acquaintance with Pahlavi would enable us to explain a number of strange terms in the Qur'an for which at present we have no solution.

² See the discussion on the use of these terms in Dvořák, *Fremdw* 20 21.

Greek, and that when the word **يُوابية** is used we are to understand the ancient Classical Greek, whereas in contradistinction to this **رومية** stands for Byzantine Greek. When, however, we come to examine the words which are said by as Suyūṭī's authorities to be either **رومية** or **يُوابية** we find that these authorities have no understanding whatever of the matter and it seems in the last degree unlikely that any of them would have known the distinction between the two forms of Greek.¹

Any direct contact with the Greek language at the time of Muḥammad or the period immediately preceding his birth, would necessarily have been with Byzantine Greek. At that time Byzantine influence was supreme in Syria and Palestine, and the Arab confederacy of Ghassan which acted as a buffer state between the Byzantine Empire and the desert tribes, and was used as an offset to the Persian influence at al Hira, was a channel whereby Byzantine influence touched the Arabs at many points.² Intercourse with Constantinople was constant, and both the pre-Islamic poet Imrū ul Qais³ and the Ḥanīf Uthman b. al Huwairith⁴ are said to have visited the Byzantine court. Contact with Christian communities in Syria which used the Greek language was a channel for the introduction of Greek words, and some trade words may have come as a result of Greek commercial ventures along the Red Sea littoral, as we learn from the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*⁵ that Arab captains and crews were employed in this trade.

Byzantine Greek as a spoken language was doubtless widely spread in Palestine and Syria at the time, and the presumption is that it would be not unfamiliar to many Arabs connected more or less closely

¹ But see Jahiz *Three Essays* ed. Finkel pp. 16-17.

² Noldeke *Ghassanischen Fürsten* p. 12 ff. Note also the Greek words occurring in the Nabataean inscriptions e.g. **אופרנס** = *εὐφορνιος* **אסרתנא** = *στρατηγος* **סקלטיקא** = *συγκλητικός* **הפרכיה** = *επαρχία* etc. (on all of which see Cook *Glossary*) and the number of Greek words in the Palestinian Talmud (cf S. Krauss *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud* Berlin 1899).

³ Ruckert *Amrīkais der Dichter und König* 94 ff. Shanqīṭī p. 9. Nicholson *Literary History* 104.

⁴ Ibn Hishām 144 and see Caetani *Annali* i p. 190.

⁵ Thus there is reason to believe that the Arabic **فلك** is from *ἐφορκιον* cf. Vollers in *ZDMG* li 300-325.

⁶ In C. Müller *Geogr. Graec. Min.* i 271.

with the Ghassānid confederacy Epigraphical remains collected by de Vogué¹ and others, show many bilingual inscriptions from N Arabia in which one of the languages is Greek, so we cannot absolutely rule out the possibility that Greek words may have been borrowed directly into Arabic in the pre Islamic period, as they undoubtedly were later,² but the Greek words in the Qur'an seem nevertheless with few exceptions to have come into Arabic through Syriac³

(iv) *Indian* — It is somewhat difficult at times to decide what the philologists meant by **الله الهنديّة** West Syrian ecclesiastical writers both in the pre Islamic and early Islamic period commonly use the word **סְסִי** for South Arabia and Ethiopia, and **סְסִי** generally means *Ethiopian* even in the oldest literature⁴ Thus in the famous passage, Jer xiii 23 "Can the Ethiopian change his skin or the leopard change his spots, we find **סְסִי** used to translate the Hebrew **כּוֹשִׁי** (LXX **Ἀιθίοψ**) and in the writings of Dionysius of Tell Mahre,⁵ and Michael the Syrian,⁷ we find the S Arabian and Abyssinian area called *India*⁸ It was not only the Syriac writers, however, who made this confusion Epiphanius in the fourth century details the nine kingdoms of India⁹ and his mention among them of the *Homcrutai*¹⁰ and *Azumitai*¹¹ makes it obvious that he is referring to the Ethiopian Kingdom Sozomen¹ and Socrates,¹³ in their accounts of the mission of Frumentius to convert the people of this Kingdom, speak of them as **Ἰνδῶν τῶν εὐδοτέρω**, and so the term passed to the Latin writers and from them to the geographers of the Middle Ages¹⁴ It is thus probable that in early Arabic **الله الهنديّة** referred to the language of S Arabia

¹ *La Syrie centrale* 1868-1877

² e.g. **لسط** = *λογοθετης* the Chancellor of the Byzantine Court (cf de Goeje *Glossary* p 349) **مدلب** = *κανδηλαπτης* from *κανδηλα* and *απτω* (Dozy *Supplement* ii 410) **اسسارو** = *σισχαριον* a sacerdotal robe (Dozy *Supplement* i 21)

³ Dvorák *Fremdw* 25 agrees

⁴ *P* vii sub voc

⁵ **סְסִי סְסִי סְסִי סְסִי סְסִי סְסִי סְסִי סְסִי סְסִי סְסִי**

⁶ In Assemani *Bibl Or* i 359 ff

⁷ Ed Chabot ii 183 ff

⁸ Mingana *Rylands Library Bulletin* v 445 gives quotations from other less known writers

⁹ Ed Dindorf iv 179-180 in the tractate *Libri de VII Gemmis*

¹⁰ i.e. the *Ομηριται* of Haer lvi 83

¹¹ i.e. the *Αξωμιται* of Haer lxxvi 83

¹² *Hist Eccl* ii § 24

¹³ *Hist Eccl* i § 19 See also *Philostorgius* ii 6

¹⁴ See Yule's *Marco Polo* (ed Cordier) ii 431 ff and Noldeke *Sasaniden* 222 n

This S Arabian language, or language group, as revealed to us from the inscriptions of the Minaean, Sabaeen, Himyaritic, and other kingdoms, belongs to the S Semitic group, and is closely related to Ethiopic, the classical language of Abyssinia. The latest inscriptions in the language date from A.D. 550 and the language would seem to have been supplanted by Arabic as a spoken language in those regions,¹ even before the time of Muhammad, though the survival to the present day of the Mahri and Soqotri² dialects would seem to indicate that in odd corners this old language might have survived until quite a late period. With the break up of the S Arabian kingdom tribes of these peoples migrated to other areas of Arabia, so that at the commencement of the Islamic period we find them widely scattered over the peninsula.³ Though when we meet them there they are using the N Arabian dialects of the tribes among whom they dwelt,⁴ there can be no doubt that words of S Arabian origin could have found their way into Arabic from these scattered communities.

When we examine the words which the philologists class as *Indian*,⁵ we find, however, that none of them are real S Arabian words. They are merely words which the early authorities could not explain, and had to refer to some remote origin, and so for them *الهند* might quite well have meant the distant land of India, with which the Muslim conquests in the East had made them vaguely familiar.

(v) *Syriac*—This is undoubtedly the most copious source of Qur'anic borrowings. Syriac, which still survives to day as a liturgical language and as the dialect of a few communities of Oriental Christians in Syria, Mesopotamia, and Persia, was at that time the spoken language of those Christian communities best known to the Arabs.⁶ How widely Syriac was spoken at the time of Muhammad

¹ Nicholson *Literary History* p. 6

² Cf. D. H. Müller *Die Mehri und Soqotri Sprache* Wien 1902-5

³ Vide Blau *Die Wanderung der sabäischen Völkerstämme* ZDMG xxii (1868) p. 654 ff

⁴ This fact has been forgotten by Taha Husein in his essay on the pre-Islamic poetry where he argues against the genuineness of some of the old poetry on the ground that while the poet was of a South Arabian tribe his language is North Arabic and not one of the South Arabian dialects.

⁵ Cf. the list in as-Suyuti *Mutan* 51-52

⁶ For the purposes of this Essay Syriac = Christian Aramaic and thus includes the Christian Palestinian dialect and the Aramaic dialect of the Christian population of N. Syria as well as the Classical Syriac dialect of Edessa which is the one best known to us from the literature and commonly usurps to itself the title of Syriac.

in the area now known as Syria, is difficult to determine, but it seems fairly certain that while Greek was the dominant literary language in the region at that period the common people of native origin generally spoke Syriac. South of Syria, however, we find that the so called Christian Palestinian dialect was more or less in literary use down to the eleventh century,¹ while in the fifth and sixth centuries it was in such common use there and of such importance as to warrant a special translation of the Scriptures and Church manuals into the dialect.² It was in Mesopotamia, however, that Syriac was in widest use as a literary and as a colloquial language. It was from this area that Aramaic made such a profound impress on the Middle Persian language and literature,³ and there can be no doubt that from the Syriac used by the Christian portion of the community of al Hira and the surrounding districts came the major portion of Syriac influence upon Arabic.

It will be remembered that it was in this area that one of the earliest forms of Arabic script, the Kūfic, was invented, based apparently on a modification of the Syriac script,⁴ and it was from the same area that the system of vowel pointing in Arabic was developed from the old Nestorian system.⁵ Here also in the court of the kings of al Hira the Christian Ibadites laid the foundation of Arabic literature,⁶ and it was in this area that Arab tribes such as Tamīm and Taghlib and Qudā'a seem first to have come under Christian influence,⁷ so that from here, along the trade routes, streams of Christian culture spread throughout Arabia.⁸

We are still in need of a critical discussion of the spread of Christianity in Arabia,⁹ but one fact seems certain, namely that such Christianity as was known among the Arabs in pre-Islamic times was

¹ The date when the scribe Ābud copied the *Lectyonary* published by Frizzo *Fœderarum Hierosolymitanum* Verona 1861.

² Noldeke *ZDMG* xxii 525 gives this as the date of the version. Since about A.D. 700 (Schulthess *Grammatik* p. 7) the language has been superseded as a colloquial by Arabic and there are Arabicisms to be met with in the MSS. which were written by Arabic speaking monks cf. Noldeke loc. cit. p. 523 n.

³ See Haug in *PPGI* and *Essay* p. 81 and Salemann in Caviger and Kuhn's *Grundriss* i 250.

⁴ Rothstein *Lachmiden* 27. Moritz in *FI* i 383.

⁵ Moritz in *FI* i 384.

⁶ Nicholson *Literary History* 138.

⁷ Cheikho *Nasraniya* see Index under these names.

⁸ Nicholson op. cit. 39.

⁹ The discussion was begun by Wright *Early Christianity in Arabia* 1855 and continued though in an uncritical way by Cheikho in his *Nasraniya*. The latest and best discussion though by no means complete is in Andrae's *Ursprung* 1926.

largely of the Syrian type, whether Jacobite or Nestorian. In the kingdom of Ghassan the dominant party appears to have been Monophysite,¹ though some, under Byzantine influence, became Melkite.² In al Hira also many important Christian families would seem to have been Monophysite, if we can believe the accounts of the mission of Simeon of Beth Arsham,³ though the predominant party there was Nestorian.⁴ The Christian community in S. Arabia at Najrān, which was perhaps the oldest Christian community in Arabia,⁵ and whose persecution by the Jewish king Dhū Nawas is mentioned in the Qur'ān,⁶ appears to have been a mixed community. There is no doubt that many of them were Nestorians,⁷ while others as clearly were Monophysites more or less related to the Monophysite Church of Abyssinia.⁸

Vocabulary of Syriac origin was already coming into use in Arabia in pre-Islamic times. The court of al Hira was a rendezvous of the poets and litterateurs of the day and many of the pre-Islamic poets, such as Imrū ul Qais, Mutalammis and Adīb Zaid, were Christians. Their poetry, naturally, was impregnated with Christian words and ideas, but even in the extant poetry of such non-Christians as an Nabigha and al A'sha,⁹ who spent much time at al Hira, we find the same strong influences of Syrian Christianity.¹⁰ The trade routes again were channels whereby Syriac vocabulary entered Arabic. The wine trade,¹¹ e.g., was largely in the hands of these Christians,¹² and so

¹ Noldeke *Chassanischen Fürsten* pp. 20-21.

² Andrae *Ursprung* 31.

³ See *Lives of the Eastern Saints* by John of Ephesus in *Patr. Orient.* xvii p. 140. These converts of Simeon are said to have been brought back to the orthodox faith by the preaching of Maraba (Iabourt *Le Christianisme dans l'Empire perse* p. 191). Assemani *Bibl. Or.* iii 2 606 mentions Monophysite Bishops of al Hira.

⁴ Andrae *Ursprung* 25. Lammens in *ROC.* ix 32 ff.

⁵ See the long account of them in Andrae *Ursprung* 7-24.

⁶ Sura lxxxv 4 ff. It is only fair, however, to state that Western scholars are not unanimous in accepting this as a reference to the persecution of Najran, though the weight of probability is strongly in its favour.

⁷ Cf. the "Histoire Nestorienne" in *Patr. Orient.* v 330 ff.

⁸ Littmann *Deutsche Aksum Expedition* i 50.

⁹ There is a tradition that an Nabigha was a Christian, on the strength of which Cheikho includes him among the Christian Arab poets, but Nicholson (*Literary History* 123) rightly rejects the tradition as without authority. Al A'sha also is frequently claimed as a Christian and is included by Cheikho in his collection, but see Nicholson p. 124.

¹⁰ Wellhausen *Reste* 234. Lyall *Ancient Arabian Poetry* pp. 92 and 119. von Kremer in *SBAW.* Wien (1881) vol. xiviii 555 ff.

¹¹ Jacob *Altarabisches Beduinenleben* 99 has an interesting note hereon referring to *Agham* viii 79. Cf. Wellhausen *Reste* 231.

¹² Though Jews also engaged in the trade. Cf. Goldziher *ZDMG* xlv 185.

we find that most of the early Arabic terms in connection with this trade are of Syriac origin ¹

There were slight differences in pronunciation between the Jacobites and the Nestorians, and Mingana notes that the vowelling of the proper names in the Qur'ān seems to follow the Nestorian pronunciation rather than the other,² though in many cases, as we shall see, the Qur'ānic forms approximate most closely to those found in the Christian Palestinian dialect

It is possible that certain of the Syriac words we find in the Qur'an were introduced by Muhammad himself. That he had personal contact with Christians of the Syrian Church is definitely stated in the Traditions. We read that he went in early life on trading journeys to Syria with the caravans of the Quraish,³ and there is an account of how on one occasion he listened to a sermon by Quss, Bishop of Najrān,⁴ at the festival of Ukāz near Mecca. Earlier Christian writers suggested that his mentor was a monk named Sergius⁵ and the legends of Nestor and Bahira⁷ at least show that there was an early recognition of the fact that Muhammad was at one time in more or less close contact with Christians associated with the Syrian Church.⁸

¹ Rothstein *Jahmiden* p. 26

Syriac Influence 83. al-Suyuti once (*Itq.* 325) quotes a word as being from the Hauranic dialect by which he apparently means some dialect of Syriac.

³ at Tabarī *Annales* i 1123. Ibn Sa'd i 1 75 ff. Ibn Hisham 115 ff. al-Mas'ūdī *Muruj* iv 132-152. Sprenger *Mohammed und der Koran* p. 6 sees in Sura xxxvii 137 a recollection of his having passed the Dead Sea on one of these journeys.

⁴ That he was Bishop of Najran we learn from I 4 viii 58. From al-Baihaqi's *Mahasin* 351 ff. we would gather that he was rather an Arab soothsayer and fortune teller.

Jahiz Bayan i 119. *Khulana* i 268. On Quss see Sprenger *Leben* i 102 ff. and Andrae *Ursprung* 202 ff.

⁵ Al-Kindī *Risala* p. 76 and the Byzantine writers e.g. ἡ δὲ τις ψευδαββας οἰοματι Σεργιος says George Phrantzes (ed. Niebuhr p. 29). It is doubtful whether Sergius and Bahira are different personages.

⁷ at Tabarī *Annales* i 1124. Ibn Sa'd i 1 76. al-Mas'ūdī *Muruj* iv 153. On these legends see Hirschfeld *New Researches* 22 ff. Gottheil *ZA* xiii 189 ff. Springer *Leben*, i 178 ff. ii 381 ff. Caetani *Annali* i 136-169. Noldeke *ZDMG* xii 690 ff.

⁸ Nestor is obviously connected with Nestorianism (cf. ܢܨܬܪܝܐ) and Bahira or Bahira is the Syr ܒܗܝܪܐ = ο εκλεκτος (Noldeke *ZDMG* xii 704 n.) commonly used of monks (Nau *Expansion nestorienne* p. 215) though Hirschfeld p. 23 argues that it is a Jewish word. Ioth *ZDMG* xxxv 620 ff. suggests that some of Muhammad's material may have come from one Suhaib a Greek from the region of Mosul. The question as to whether Muhammad could have had a Scripture teacher has been discussed by the present writer in an essay in the volume *From the Pyramids to Paul* (New York, 1935) pp. 95-118.

It goes without saying that not all the words which as Suyūṭī's authorities class under the term *السريانية* are of Syriac origin. Goldziher has pointed out¹ that *سرياني* was frequently used by Muslim writers for anything ancient, time honoured and consequently little understood, and he quotes a line from Ibn 'Abd Rabbihī, who in his *Iqd al Farīd*, speaking of a notoriously bad copyist, says *كان اذا مسح الكتاب مرتين عاد سريانيا* "if he copied a book twice it would be Syriac". Dvorak² also refers to a common Turkish phrase quoted by Vambery *نو سريانيدير نو بر اكليله دق* "Is it perhaps Syriac?" "We could not understand it," somewhat as we say, "It was all Greek to me". It is thus clear that *سرياني* in the writings of the Muslim exegetes may frequently have meant nothing more than that a word was of the old learned tongues and so more or less unintelligible to the ordinary person.

(vi) *Hebrew*—We learn from the Muslim historians that Jews were prominent in the pre Islamic community at Madīna,³ and that there were in fact three considerable tribes of Jews in that area, the Banū Qaynuqa', Banū Quraiza, and Banū Naḍir,⁴ who were proprietors of lands and plantations of palm trees, and who exercised no little influence on the Arabs around them.⁵ There were also many Jewish tradesmen in the city who are said to have been particularly skilled as jewellers and armourers.⁶ We learn also of communities at al 'Ala⁷ (the ancient Dedan), Taima,⁸ Khaibar,⁹ and Fadak,¹⁰ in North Arabia,

¹ C. xvii 774

² *Fremdwörter* 22 n

³ Ibn Hisham 351 at *Libani Annales* i 1359 ff. For a discussion of their position and influence there see Hirschfeld *REJ* vii 167 ff. Leszynsky *Die Juden in Arabien* 1910 and Wensinck *De Joden te Medina* Leiden 1908.

⁴ We learn also of a tribe Banu Hadal (or Handal or Bahdal) cf. Yaqt *Mu jam* iv 462 and see Hirschfeld *REJ* vii 169 ff. The *Aghani* also mentions other smaller tribes or families.

⁵ *Aghani* xix 94

⁶ Cf. Hirschfeld op cit. Wellhausen *Reste* 230. Caetani *Annali* i 386

⁷ Rudolph *Abhangigkeit* p. 1

⁸ Shammakh *Duan* ed. Shanqiti p. 26. Yaqt *Mu jam* i 907

⁹ Yaqt *Mu jam* ii 504 ff.

¹⁰ Yaqt *Mu jam* iii, 856, 857, Abu Da'ud, *Sunan*, xix, 26

and doubtless they were known in many other areas from which, however, no evidence of their presence has survived. We have no evidence as to when they arrived in N Arabia, but it was possibly at an early period.¹ Arabian legend places their first settlements there in the time of Moses and Aaron.² Acts II, 11, would seem to indicate that there were settlements of them there at the commencement of the Christian era, and in the Mishna (Shabb vi, 6)³ we have fairly reliable evidence of early settlements in that area.⁴ It has been frequently suggested that the destruction of Jerusalem in A D 70 drove many Jewish families to seek refuge in N Arabia, and thus added to the importance of the communities already settled there.⁵

There were Jewish settlements also in S Arabia.⁶ Whether they were founded by Jews who had followed the spice road from N Arabia,⁷ or by traders who had crossed from Egypt or Abyssinia,⁸ it is impossible now to say. Perhaps there were communities there from both these centres of trade. That they exercised no little religious influence there is indicated both by the Jewish imprint on many of the S Arabian religious inscriptions,⁹ and by the fact that we have very consistent tradition as to the conversion of one of the Himyarite kings to Judaism.¹⁰ It was the persecution of the Christian communities by this proselyte Dhū Nawas, or Masrūq, which was said to have led to the Axumite invasion and occupation of S Arabia.

The polemic of the Qur'an itself is sufficient evidence of the importance of the Jews as a religious body in the community to which Muhammad addressed his message. As, however, these Arabian Jews all bear Arab names, are organized in tribes on the Arab fashion, and, when we meet them in the literature, act and talk like genuine Arabs, some have thought that they were not real Jews but Arab

¹ Torrey *Foundation* 10 ff. argues for a considerable settlement of expatriated Jews in Taima as early as the sixth century B C.

² *Aghani* xix 94.

³ i.e. fol 65a.

⁴ Notice also that there are numerous Arabic words and Arabisms in the Mishna cf. Margoliouth *Schweich Lectures* p. 58.

⁵ Caetani *Annali* i 383. Leszynsky *Die Juden in Arabien* p. 6.

⁶ *Aghani* xiii 121.

⁷ Rudolph *Abhängigkeit* p. 1. Wellhausen *Reste* 230.

⁸ Caetani *Studi* i 261.

⁹ Margoliouth op. cit. 67 ff. thinks there is some doubt about this but see MW xix 13.

¹⁰ Moberg *Book of the Himyarites* xlii ff. Fell in ZDMG xxxv 1-74. Ibn Hisham 20 ff. at Tabari *Annales* i 918 ff. al Mas'udi *Muruj* i 129.

proselytes¹ It is difficult, however, in face of the polemic of the Qur'ān, to think of them as other than Jews by race as well as religion, and their adoption of Arab customs may well be explained by the Jewish habit of assimilating themselves to the community in which they dwell²

Whether these Jews had any great familiarity with Hebrew, however, is a different question One would gather from the Qur'ān that they were far better acquainted with the Rabbinic writings than they were with the Scriptures, and when we find Muhammad borrowing technical terms of Jewish origin they are generally of an Aramaic rather than a Hebrew form It would seem from a passage in Ibn Hisham,³ that they had a Beth ha Midrash which Muhammad visited on at least one occasion,⁴ though we are left to conjecture what they studied there Some accounts we have do not speak very highly of their intellectual acquirements On the whole, one would judge that much of Muhammad's knowledge of Judaism was gained from the general stock of information about Jewish practice and versions of Jewish stories and legends that were current among the Arabs who had lived in contact with Jewish communities, for much of this material, as we shall see, can be found also in the old poetry⁵ Certainly some of his knowledge of Judaism came through Christian channels as is demonstrated by the Christian form of many Old Testament

¹ Winckler *MAAC* vi 222 Margoliouth op cit 61 Hirschfeld *New Researches* p 3 notes that the Arabs seem to have intermarried freely with them

The second essay in Jammen's *L Arabie occidentale* contains much interesting material on the position of Jews in the Hijaz at the time of Muhammad though he is inclined to emphasize their influence a little too strongly

³ p 383 and Bail on Sura ii 91 Abu Bakr also visited this Beth ha Midrash vide Ibn Hisham 388 Pautz *Offenbarung* 39 translates the words *بيت المدراس* by *Synagogue* but see Geiger 13

⁴ There is also a Tradition that Muhammad used to listen to Jabr and Yasar two Jewish smiths at Mecca as they read together out of their Scriptures vide Margoliouth *Mohammed* 106

⁵ This is indeed suggested by the Qur'ān itself Sura ii 80 though we also gather from the Qur'ān that they had copies of their Scriptures and could write (ii 73 169) Tabari *Tafsir* xxi 4 has a tradition that the Madinan Jews read the Torah in Hebrew and interpreted it in Arabic (On their dialect cf Caetani *Annali* i 386 Leszynsky 22 ff) As to what Scriptures we may reasonably suppose them to have possessed see Hirschfeld *New Researches* 103

⁶ Torrey *Foundations* following Aug Muller assumes that these Arabian Jews spoke a Judaeo Arabic dialect and refers to this dialect all the curious forms found in the Qur'ān e.g. *مُؤْمِرٌ* رور etc The theory is interesting but hardly convincing Even less convincing is the theory of Finkel elaborated in an essay in *MW* 1932 p 169 ff that the Jewish material in the Qur'ān comes from non Talmudic old Israelitish tradition

names that occur in the Qur'ān¹ It is probable that in the Qur'an there is evidence that Muhammad attempted to purchase information about the Scriptures from certain Jews of the city only to find later that they had deceived him,² and Geiger seems to suggest³ that perhaps Muhammad deliberately sought for and incorporated Jewish terminology into his revelation in order to win over the Jews before he made his final break with them

as Suyūṭī sometimes uses عراییه or عراییه to denote Hebrew, and sometimes لمة اليهود, and once, in discussing لية he says that the word was لسان يهود يثرب "in the tongue of the Madinan Jews"⁴ Dvořák, *Fremdw*, 19, would draw a distinction from as Suyūṭī's use of these terms, taking عراییه and عراییه to mean classical Hebrew, and لمة اليهود as the language of the Jews of later times perhaps the dialectal Hebrew used in Arabia.⁵ One is inclined to doubt, however whether the Arab philologists had sufficient knowledge to make such a distinction between the earlier and later forms of Hebrew, and an examination of the words which as Suyūṭī's authorities place in the two classes,⁶ makes it perfectly clear that there is nothing more in this distinction than there is in his varying use of لمة النبط and بالنطية

Moreover, from *Muzhir*, i, 105, it would seem that the term عراییه was used somewhat vaguely by the philologists

(vii) *Nabataean*—We find in as Suyūṭī's lists quite a number of words which various authorities claim to be of Nabataean origin The Nabataean kingdom, which from about the sixth century B.C. had stretched over the territory from the old Edomite kingdom in the

¹ See herein under اسمعيل, بوس, سليمان, الناس etc Mingana *Syriac Influence* 82 goes so far as to say that there is not a single Biblical name in the Qur'an which is exclusively Hebrew in form

² Sura ii 74 169

³ *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen* p 36

⁴ *Itq* 324

⁵ Especially in view of the phrase لمة يهود يثرب

⁶ *Ide Mutaw*, pp 56-9

south east of Palestine as far north as Damascus,¹ was of Arab origin, and exercised no little influence on the Haurān and N Arabia, even after it was absorbed in the Roman *Provincia Arabia*. Its deities Allat, Manūthu, and Hubalu, were revered even in Mecca,² and its period of power and prosperity was near enough to the period when we first come in contact with the pre Islamic literature for the memory of it still to linger, much embellished with legendary details, in the poetic lore of the desert Arabs. We have a fair idea of the Nabataean language³ from numerous inscriptions collected in N Arabia⁴ but the Nemara inscription from the Hauran, dated A D 328,⁵ is in classical Arabic, though written in Nabataean characters, and shows that by that date the old Nabataean language had been sup-

planted by Arabic. When the philologists use the term سبطى, however, it does not necessarily refer to these *Naḡaraṭoi* of Petra and the Hauran, for the Arabs used the word for many communities in Syria and Irāq and as Noldeke has shown⁶ the Muslim philologists really mean Aramaic when they speak of السبطيه

We have already discussed how Syriac words may have come into Arabic, and need say no more on the subject of the Christian Aramaic. If the Jews of Arabia were Jews by race and not merely proselytes, we might expect that Jewish Aramaic would have been more commonly known among them than Hebrew,⁷ and this is confirmed by the fact that as we have already noticed the Jewish words in the Qur'an are more generally Aramaic in form than Hebrew. It is not necessary

¹ *FRF* ix 121 and Quatremere in *JA* xv (1835 p. 5 ff.)

² *אלת* and *מנותו* are the *اللات* and *ماء* of Sura lvi 19-20 and *הבלול* is the *هل* who as we learn from al Mas'udi *Muruj* iv 46 was the chief god of the Ka'ba.

³ Nabataean was a dialect of West Aramaic though full of Arabic words and idioms.

⁴ Collections will be found in *CIS* vol. ii de Vogüé *Inscriptions semitiques* and Lüding *Nabataische Inschriften aus Arabien* Berlin 1885.

⁵ Lidzbarski *Ephemeris* ii 34.

⁶ *ZDMG* xxv 122 ff. al Mas'udi *Muruj* iii 240 says that the country of Babel was occupied by the Nabataeans. Sometimes however سبطى is used just like سرمانى to mean something in a language unintelligible to the Muslim savants of the reference in Margoliouth's *Schweich Lectures* p. 55 n. to *Islah al Mantiq* p. 168.

⁷ The Jews in North Arabia and Syria read the Bible in Synagogues in the Hebrew original but for domestic study they probably used Aramaic translations as did the Christians. Many Biblical words which occur in the Qur'an have evidently gone through an Aramaic channel.—Hirschfeld *New Researches*, 32.

to assume that many of these words were borrowings of the Prophet himself, for in a city like Madīna, where Jewish influence was so strong and where there was apparently a keen interest in religious matters, it is probable that many such words would have been borrowed in pre-Islamic times, and as a matter of fact many such are to be found in the old poetry ¹

It is not impossible, of course, that Aramaic words may have entered from sources which were neither Syriac nor Jewish but it is doubtful if any words of the genuine Nabataean dialect are to be found in the Qur'an. A glance at as-Suyūṭī's list of so-called Nabataean words ² gives one the impression that the philologists used the term

mainly as a cloak for their ignorance, *سَطِيه* being a good enough designation for any strange word whose origin they could not ascertain ³

(viii) *Coptic* — as-Suyūṭī finds some six words which his authorities, Shaidhala, al Wasīṭī, and others classed as Coptic loan words ⁴. It hardly needs saying that none of them are Coptic, and indeed in the case of some of them one wonders why anyone ever thought of considering them other than Arabic. Coptic was the liturgical language of the Christian communities of Egypt at the time of Muhammad, as indeed it has remained to the present day. How much more than a liturgical language it was is doubtful, though we have reason to believe that the cultural language, if not the language of everyday life in Egypt at that period, was Greek ⁵. It is practically certain that Greek would have been the language of commerce, and we may well doubt whether any Coptic vocabulary would have entered Arabic along the trade routes ⁶. It is a remarkable fact that the colloquial Arabic of Egypt which grew up after the Muslim conquest of the country, while it is full of Greek loan words contains but few words derived from Coptic.

That Muhammad himself had at least one point of intimate contact

¹ The classical discussion of this element in Arabic vocabulary is Fraenkel's *Aramäische Fremdwörter im Arabischen* Leiden 1886.

² *Mutaw* 59-62.

³ So Dvořák *Fremdw* 21-22.

⁴ *Mutaw* pp. 62-4.

⁵ Burkitt *JThS* xxvii 148 ff. suggests that Coptic was perhaps never much more than a liturgical language.

⁶ Evidence of early contact with Mecca may be seen in the story of Coptic workmen having been employed in the rebuilding of the Ka'ba.

with Egyptian Christianity is evident from the fact that one of his concubines was Miriam, a Coptic slave girl,¹ who was the mother of his beloved son Ibrahim, and the cause of no little scandal and flurry in the Prophet's domestic circle. It is possible that he learned a few Christian legends from Miriam, but if he learned along with them any new Christian terminology of Coptic origin, this has left no trace in the Qur'ān.

As we might expect, the Muslim philologers show no real acquaintance with the Coptic language, in spite of the fact that in discussing the word عساق as Suyūṭī (*Itq*, 323) refers to a dialect of Coptic viz

الطحاوية. Dvořák, arguing from the fact that the philologers stated

that الاولى meant الآخر in Coptic and الآخر meant الاولى,² suggests that the Muslims simply made these statements in order to throw contempt on the Coptic community.⁴ In any case it is clear that there is no philological justification whatever for their attribution of a Coptic origin to any Qur'anic words.

(ix) *Turkish* — It goes without saying that no dialect of Turkish had any influence on Arabic until well on into the Islamic period. There is one word, however, which we find given as Turkish by quite an array of authorities including even al-Jawāḥiri and Ibn Qutayba⁵

viz عساق, which occurs twice in the Qur'an (xxxviii, 57, lxxviii, 25), and is said to mean the corruption which oozes from the bodies of the damned. The word عساق certainly can be found in the Turkish

¹ There is of course no certainty that Miriam was a Copt by race and there are some grounds for thinking that she may have been an Abyssinian slave girl living in Egypt before she was sent as a gift to Muhammad.

² طحا is a district of Upper Egypt cf Yaḥyā *Muḥam* iii 516.

³ *Itq* 319 *Mutaw* 63.

⁴ *Fremdw* 23-24. Along with الاولى must be classed طاس of lv 54 which clearly means inner linings but which the same authorities according to as Suyūṭī say means exteriors (طواهر) in Coptic. It should be noted however that as Suyūṭī also quotes authorities as claiming that ورا was Nabataean for امام see *Itq* 325 *Mutaw* 61.

⁵ *Muḥam* 107 (cf Khafajī 142) as Suyūṭī *Itq* 323 *Mutaw* 64. Others however as we have seen said it was Coptic.

⁶ *Adab al-Katib* 527.

Lexicons, but is obviously a loan word from Arabic¹ The only reason one can suggest for the common opinion that it was Turkish is that the word may in later times have come to be commonly used by the Turkish soldiery at the Muslim courts, so that the scholars, at a loss how to explain so curious a word, jumped to the conclusion that it must be Turkish, and this opinion was then, as usual, attributed to the circle of Ibn Abbās

(x) *Negro*—Two words, **حصب** meaning *fuel* and **مساه** a *staff*, as Suyūṭi tells us,² were considered by some authorities to be borrowings from the language of the woolly haired blacks **الرحية** This **رحية** is the language of the **روح**, and the Lexicons inform us that **الرح** is **روى** like **روى** from **روح** or **رَحي** or **رَحي** so that **رحيل من السودان**³ is like **روى** from **روى** or **فارسی** from **فرس** The only reason for the philologists classing Qur'anic words as **من الرحية** is that they were entirely at a loss to explain the words and so suggested an origin in some remote corner of the earth which perhaps appealed to them as better than giving no origin at all⁴

(x1) *Berber*—Sometimes we find as Suyūṭi quoting authority for words being **بلغة البربر** and at other times for their being **لسان اهل** **العرب** or **المعرب** which mean the same thing⁵ By

¹ See Redhouse *Turkish Lexicon* sub voc

² *Itq* 320 *Mutaw* 64 Other authorities however said that **مساه** was Ethiopic (*Itq* 325 *Mutaw* 42)

³ *IA* iii 114 The word is familiar to us from Zanzibar

⁴ Es lässt sich nicht verkennen dass wir es hier mit willkürlicher Verhüllung und Verschönerung der Unwissenheit zu thun haben die sich überdies indem sie eine weit abliegende Sprache als Ursprung eines Wortes hinstellt möglicherweise auch den Schein der Gelchrsamkeit zu geben trachtet Dies scheint mir der Fall bei den Wörtern zu sein die auf die Sprache der Berbern Neger Afrikabewohner u a zurückgeführt werden Sprachen die von unserem erweiterten Standpunkte der Wissenschaft wenig bekannt sind umso weniger können wir eine Kenntnis derselben bei den Arabern voraussetzen und noch weniger ihr Vorkommen im Koran erklären Dvofák *Fremdw* 21

⁵ This is obvious from as Suyūṭi's discussion of **مهل** vide *Itq* 320

Berber, the philologists mean the Hamitic languages of N Africa,¹ known to us at the present day from the Tamashek, Kabyli, and kindred dialects. The spread of Islam along N Africa brought the Arabs into contact with these Berber tribes,² whose influence on Islam in that area was as profound as that of the Turks in Mesopotamia, but it is ridiculous to think that any elements of Berber vocabulary entered Arabic in the pre Islamic or Qur'anic period. One may doubt whether any of the Muslim philologists had any acquaintance with the Berber dialects³ and certainly the words quoted as Berber by as-Suyūṭī's authorities have no connection with any Hamitic tongue. Again all we can say is that these words were puzzles to the scholars of the day, and **لسان**

أهل العرب or **بلغة البربر** at least sounded well as a cloak for their ignorance.

From the discussion thus far it has become obvious that we cannot rate very highly the work of the Muslim authorities who have dealt with this difficult and important subject.⁴ Goldziher has well said that "to attempt to explain all that has been set forth (by these authorities) as Hebrew, Syriac, Nabataean, etc., from one's knowledge of these tongues would be undertaking a fruitless task. These, languages, like the people who spoke them, belong to a grey antiquity, and are merely general terms for anything mysterious, esoteric, and ununderstandable, and to which belongs everything of whose origin there is no certainty, but whose great age is obvious."⁵ Occasionally one gets flashes of what looks like philological learning, as e.g. when we find at Tabarī in the Introduction to his *Tafsīr* (i, 6), quoting Hammād

b. Salama on **قسورة**, **فرت مر**,⁶ to the effect that the word for *lion* in

¹ See al-Masūdī *Muruʿ* iii 242 for the home of the Berbers.

² Once in dealing with **مطار** as-Suyūṭī (*Itq* 323) refers to **أهل الأفرمه** by which he probably means Berber.

³ Their theories as to the origin of the Berbers are interesting. al-Masūdī *Muruʿ* iii 241 makes a curious confusion between the Philistines and the Phoenicians for he tells us that the Berbers came from Palestine and settled in N Africa and that their kings were known as **حالوب** a dynastic name the last bearer of which was the Jalut who was killed by David.

⁴ The philologists did much better in dealing with such foreign words outside the Qur'an i.e. with later borrowings of Islamic times. Some account of them and their methods will be found in Siddiqī *Studies* 14-64.

⁵ *ZDMG* xxvi 766.

⁶ lxxiv 51. Hammād's line of Tradition as usual goes back to Ibn Abbas.

Arabic is **أسد**, in Persian **شار**, in Nabataean **أريا**, and in Ethiopic **قسورة**. An examination of the Lexicons, however, shows that there is nothing in Aramaic or Ethiopic even remotely resembling these words, though **شار** is somewhat like the Persian **شير** = Pahlavi **وهریت**, *sher* meaning *tiger* or *lion*.¹ Indeed, as a general rule, the philologists are at their best when dealing with Persian words, a fact which may perhaps be explained by the Persian origin of so many of these savants themselves.

All things considered, one is not surprised that they had so little success with the problems of the foreign words in the Qur'ān, or that they detected so few out of the relatively large number recognized by modern scholarship, for they had but the most meagre philological resources at their disposal. What is cause for surprise is that as Suyūṭī is able to gather from the older authorities so many words whose Arabic origin to us is obvious, but which they regarded as foreign.

One group of these we may explain as Dvorak does,² as cases where the Arabic word is rare,³ or occurs in a context where the usual meaning perhaps does not lie immediately on the surface, but where the word can be easily explained from related words or from the sense of the passage, and so comes to be regarded as a foreign word with that meaning. As examples we may take two words that are said to be the one Nabataean and the other Coptic

(1) In XIX, 24, we have the word **حَت** which as Suyūṭī tells us⁴ was considered by Abū'l Qasim in his *Lughāt al Qur'ān*, and by al Kirmanī in his *Al 'Ajā'ib*, to be a Nabataean word meaning **طلى**. The growth of this theory is fairly clear. The word occurs in a passage where Muhammad is giving an account of the birth of Jesus, an account whose main features he had derived from some oral reproduction of the fables of the *Hist Nativ Mariae*. In the first place we note that the Qurra' were not certain of the reading, for Baiḍ *in loco*, tells us that some read **فَإِذَا هُمْ تَحْتَهَا** while others read

¹ Cf. *PPGI* 214. Horn *Grundriss* § 803.

² *Fremdw* 29.

³ In the list of words of this class it will be noted that most are *kapax legomena* in the Qur'an.

⁴ *Itq* 320. *Mutaw* 63.

مِنْ تَحْتِهَا Secondly, there was some difference of opinion among the exegetes as to whether the one who called was Gabriel, standing at the foot of the hill, or the babe Jesus. Now it seems clear that when they felt some difficulty over this تحت, certain of the exegetes who knew from Christian sources that the one who called was the babe, and who had probably heard of the legends of Jesus speaking to his mother before his birth,¹ assumed that تحت could not be taken here in its usual Arabic meaning of *beneath*, but must be a foreign word meaning *طبی* or *womb*. The guess of Nabataean, of course, has nothing to support it, for the Aramaic ܬܚܬܐ like the Hebrew תחת, Syriac ܬܚܬܐ, and Ethiopic ተከተ, has exactly the same meaning as the Arabic تحت.

(11) In xii, 23, we read that Joseph's mistress says to him هيب لك

The word occurs only in this passage in the Qur'an and is a rare expression even outside the Qur'an, though, as has been pointed out by Barth,² there can be no question that it is genuine Arabic. It was so rare and unusual a word, however, that it was early taken by the exegetes as foreign³ and explained as Coptic,⁴ doubtless on the ground that the Egyptian lady would have spoken to her slave in the Egyptian tongue, and as the only Egyptian language known to the Muslim philologists was Coptic, this rare word was taken to be of Coptic origin.

Similarly سِيدَها in xii, 25, which is explained as Coptic for روحها, was doubtless a case of the same sort, and likewise two other Coptic suggestions in the same Sūra, viz مِرْحَاة and نِصَاعَة of xii, 88, both of

¹ See Thababī *Qisas al-Anbiya* p. 269.

Sprachwiss. Untersuch. 1. 22 with reference to Ibn Ya'ish 1. 499 line 7. Cf. also Reckendorf *Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen* Leiden 1898 p. 325. Wright *Arabic Grammar* 1. 294 d.

² Siddiqi *Studien* 13.

³ Itq 325. Others thought it Aramaic (*Mutaw* 54) or Hauranic (*Muzhir* 1. 130) or Hebrew (*Itq* 325).

⁴ Itq 322 from Al Wasīfī.

which are said to be Coptic for **قليل**,¹ though, of course, there is nothing in the Coptic vocabulary to justify this assertion, and the words are undoubtedly genuine Arabic

In this group we may also class the following words collected by as Suyūṭi from earlier authorities as foreign borrowings, but which are all obviously Arabic **عَمَدَن** in xxvi, 21, which is said to be Nabataean for **قَتَلْتَ**,² also **المعى** in xi 46, which some took to be Indian or Ethiopic for **اشرى**,³ and **احلد** of vii, 175, which was said to be Hebrew for **مال**,⁴ and **حصب** of xx1, 98, said to be Zinjī for **تحريك**,⁵ also **رَمَرٌ** in iii, 36, said to be a Hebrew word meaning **الشفتين**,⁶ and **رَهْوٌ** of xlii, 23, said to be of Nabataean or Syriac origin⁷ and **شطر** of ii, 139–145, which is claimed as Ethiopic⁸, and **عاص** in xi 46, xiii, 9, also said to be Ethiopic⁹, also **كور** of xxxix, 7, lxxx1, 1 explained as the Persian for **عور**,¹⁰ and **ليه** of lix, 5, said to be Hebrew¹¹, and **مصاص** of xxxviii, 2, said to be Nabataean or Coptic

¹ *Itq* 324 and *Mutaw* 63 There is apparently some confusion between the two on the part of the *Mutaw* for in the *Muhaddhab* from which both the *Itqan* and the *Mutaw* draw only **مرحاه** is given

² *Itq* 323 and see Dvorák *Fremdu* 29

³ *Itq* 318 *Mutaw* 39 51 Ethiopic **በላዕ** (Heb **בָּלַע** Syr **ܠܬܠܥ** Aram **ܠܬܠܥ**) will give a form **ለ-በላዕ** but the Qurānic **المعى** is doubtless a normal Arabic formation from **لمع** cf Raghīb *Mufradat* 59

⁴ *Itq* 318 *Mutaw* 56

⁵ *Itq* 320 *Mutaw* 64 see also Fleischer *Kl Schr* ii 132

⁶ *Itq* 321 *Mutaw* 57

⁷ *Itq* 321 *Mutaw* 54 61

⁸ *Itq* 322 *Mutaw* 37

⁹ *Itq* 323 *Mutaw* 45

¹⁰ *Itq* 324 *Mutaw* 46

¹¹ *Itq* 324 *Mutaw* 59 and see Dvorák *Fremdu* 20

for ¹فرار, and ²مدسة of xxxiv, 13, and ³ماشئة of lxxiii, 6, both of which are said to be derived from an Abyssinian source, also ⁴هَوْن of xxv, 64, claimed as Syriac or Hebrew, and ⁵ورر of lxxv, 11, said to be Nabataean for ⁵الحل والملحاء, also ⁵يَحُور of lxxxiv, 14, explained by some as Ethiopic for ⁶يرجع and ⁶صهر of xxii 21, said to be Berber for ⁷نصح, also ⁷اصرى in iii, 75, which is said to be Nabataean for ⁸عهدي, and ⁸أَوَاه of ix 115, xi, 77, which some took to be Abyssinian or Hebrew, and ⁹اَوَاب in xvii, 27, etc, which was also claimed as of Abyssinian origin, and ¹⁰يصدون of xliii, 57, which some said meant ¹¹يصحون in Ethiopic

Another group consists of rare words used in the Qur ān, which may be Arabic or may not be. A word like ¹²قسورة in lxxiv, 51, is a puzzle at the present day, so that it is no wonder if it gave some trouble to the early exegetes. It is usually taken to mean *lion*, and as Suyūṭi quotes authorities for its being an Abyssinian word. There is no such word, however, in Ethiopic or any of the later Abyssinian dialects, the common Ethiopic words for *lion* being አሰ = Ar ¹³أسد or ዐንባ (sometimes አንባ) = Ar ¹⁴عندس. Addai Sher, 126, suggests that the word is of Persian origin, but there seems no basis for this. So far as one can see there is nothing in any of the other languages

¹ Itq 325 Mutaw 63 the *Muhadhdhab* agrees with Mutaw

² Itq 325 Mutaw 42 64

³ Itq 325 Mutaw 43

⁴ Itq 325 Mutaw 53 56

⁵ Itq 325 Mutaw 61

⁶ Itq 325 Mutaw 44 ይህ ር from ሐረ is perhaps in mind here or may be

ይሐረ

⁷ Itq 326 Mutaw 65

⁸ Itq 319 Mutaw 62

⁹ Itq 319 Mutaw 38 57

¹⁰ Itq 319 Mutaw 42

¹¹ Itq 326 Mutaw 44

¹ Itq 323 Mutaw 43

to help us out, and perhaps the simplest solution is to consider it as a formation from *قسر*, though the great variety of opinions on the word given by the early authorities makes its Arabic origin very doubtful. Very similar is *مهل*,¹ which is said to mean either *fused brass* or *the dregs of oil*² as Suyūṭī quotes early authorities for its being a Berber word,³ which of course is absurd. Hebrew *מַהֲלֵל*⁴ and Aram *מַהֲלֵל*, meaning to spoil wine by mixing water with it, may have some connection with the meaning *عكر اليت* or *دردي اليت*

given by the Lexicons,⁵ but it is difficult to derive the Qur'anic *مهل* from this, and equally difficult to explain it as an Arabic word.⁶

Yet a third group consists of those few words where a little linguistic learning has led the Muslim philologists into sad error.

For instance, the word *أل* which occurs only in ix 8, apparently means *consanguinity relationship*, and is a good Arabic word yet we find as Suyūṭī⁷ telling us that Ibn Jinnī⁸ said that many of the early authorities held that this *أل* was the name of God in Nabataean the reference of course being to the common Semitic divine name *El*.

Similarly *منطر* of lxxiii, 18, which there is no reason for taking as other than a regular formation from *نطر* to *rend* or *cleave* (cf Heb *פטר*, Syr *ܦܬܪ*), is said by some authorities to be Abyssinian,⁹ on the ground, apparently, of some hazy connection in their minds between it and *منل*. So also *دردي* of xxiv 35, which Shaidhala and

¹ Sura xviii 28 xlv 4, lxx 8

Jawharī *Siḥaḥ* ii 241 Raghīb *Mufradāt* 494

² *Itq* 325 *Mutaw* 65

⁴ Used only in Is i 22

⁵ *LA* xiv 155

⁶ *طوى* of *عسا* of xxxviii 57 lxxviii 25 (cf as Suyūṭī *Itq* 323 *Mutaw* 64) and *طوى* of x 12 lxxix, 16 (cf as Suyūṭī *Itq* 322 *Mutaw* 57) are perhaps to be included along with these

⁷ *Itq* 319 *Mutaw* 61

⁸ The *Mutaw* tells us that the reference is to his grammatical work *Al Muhtasib*

⁹ *Itq* 325 *Mutaw* 43

Abū'l Qāsim said was of Abyssinian origin,¹ cannot be other than Arabic, the Eth **ḥḥḥ** providing a possibility of solution for philologists who found some difficulty in deriving **دری** from **دَر** to *flow abundantly*

With these we may perhaps class **سَكْرَ** of xvi 69, which was said to be Abyssinian for **حل**,² though Eth **ḥḥc** is from **ḥḥḥ** to *get drunk* (cognate with Heb **שכר**, Syr **ܡܚܡܐ**, and cf Akk *sikaru*, Gr *σικερα*), the difficulty apparently arising because the Arabic root **سك** means *to fill a vessel* Also **حرم**, a very common word, cognate with Heb **חָרַם**, was by some taken to be Abyssinian³ doubtless because **ḥḥḥ** was commonly used in the technical sense of *to consecrate* or *dedicate* to God Perhaps also **أَلِمَ** from **اليم** to *suffer pain*, which some thought was a Zinjī word, and some Heb,⁴ should come under this head

Perhaps a fourth class may be formed of a few words like **طه** and **يس** These particular signs occur among the mystic letters of the Qur'an, which Goossens takes with some probability as contractions for older names of the Sūras,⁵ but which puzzled the exegetes and are taken by them to be foreign words⁶ Similarly **سَيِّئِي** of xcv, 2, is obviously only a variant of **سَيِّئًا** used for purposes of rhyme, but we learn from as Suyūṭī that some authorities took it to be Abyssinian⁷

As was to be expected, modern scholarship has detected many more words of foreign origin in the vocabulary of the Qur'an than

¹ Itq 320 Mutaw 45

² Itq 321 Mutaw 40

³ Itq 320

⁴ Itq 319 Mutaw 58

In his article in *Der Islam* xiii 191 ff

⁶ I or **طه** see as Suyūṭī Itq 322 Mutaw 40 52 61 and for **يس** Itq 325 Mutaw

42

⁷ Itq 322 Mutaw 44 As these authorities say it means *beautiful* in Eth and **ሀላዊ** does mean *to be beautiful* we might perhaps class **سَيِّئِي** in group three as a blunder due to uncritical knowledge of the cognate languages

were ever noted by Muslim investigators. In the sixth century Arabia was surrounded on all sides by nations of a higher civilization, the Empires of Byzantium, Persia, and Abyssinia possessed most of her fertile territory, and mighty religious influences, both Jewish and Christian, were at work in the peninsula at the time when Muhammad was born. In his young manhood Muhammad was greatly impressed by this higher civilization and particularly by the religion of the great Empire of Roum, and there can be no serious doubt that his conception of his mission, as he first clearly outlined it for himself, was to provide for the Arabs the benefit of this religion and in some measure this civilization.¹ It was therefore natural that the Qur'ān should contain a large number of religious and cultural terms borrowed from these surrounding communities. This religion, as he insists over and over again in the Qur'ān, is something new to the Arabs. It was not likely, therefore, that native Arabic vocabulary would be adequate to express all its new ideas, so the obvious policy was to borrow and adapt the necessary technical terms.² Many of these terms, as a matter of fact, were there ready to his hand, having already come into use in Arabia in pre-Islamic times, partly through Arab tribes who had accepted Christianity, partly through commerce with Jews, Christians, and Persians, and partly through earlier inquirers interested in these religions. In fact it is very probable that if we knew more about those elusive personalities—Umayyā b. Abī ṣāliṭ, Musailama, and the Hanīfs, we should find that there was in Arabia at that time a little circle of seekers after monotheism who were using a fairly definite vocabulary of religious terms of Jewish and Christian origin, and illustrating their preaching by a little group of stories partly of Judæo-Christian, and partly Arabian origin. In the beginning Muhammad but followed in their footsteps, but he grasped the political arm and became a figure in the world, while of the others we can now discern but the hazy outlines, though they so largely prepared the way for him.

It is clear also that Muhammad set himself definitely to learn about things Jewish and Christian,³ and thus undoubtedly himself

¹ Bell *Origin* 98-99

² Thus the Qur'ān appeared so foreign to everything with which Arabic thought was familiar that the ordinary vernacular was inadequate to express all these new ideas. Hirschfeld *New Researches* p. 4

³ Hirschfeld however goes a little too far when he says *New Researches* 13. Before entering on his first ministry Muhammad had undergone what I should like to call a course of Biblical training.

imported new technical terms from these sources. It has been remarked not infrequently that the Prophet had a penchant for strange and mysterious sounding words,¹ and seemed to love to puzzle his audiences with these new terms,² though frequently he himself had not grasped correctly their meaning, as one sees in such cases as *سكينة* and *ورقان*

Sometimes he seems even to have invented words, such as *عساق* ³ *سلسيل* and *تسيم*

The foreign elements in the Qur'anic vocabulary are of three distinct kinds —

(i) Words which are entirely non Arabic, such as *رحمیل*, *استرق*, *مارق*, etc., which cannot by any linguistic juggling be reduced to developments from an Arabic root, or which though seemingly triliteral, e.g. *حب*, have no verbal root in Arabic. These words were taken over as such from some non Arabic source.

(ii) Words which are Semitic and whose triliteral root may be found in Arabic, but which nevertheless in the Qur'ān are used not in the Arabic sense of the root, but in a sense which developed in one of the other languages. Such words as *فاطر*, *صوامع*, *درس*, *بارك* are illustrations. Words of this class when once naturalized in Arabic may and do develop nominal and verbal forms in a truly Arabic manner, and thus frequently disguise the fact that originally they were borrowings from outside.

(iii) Words which are genuinely Arabic and commonly used in the Arabic language, but which as used in the Qur'ān have been coloured in their meaning by the use of the cognate languages. For instance, *نور* meaning *light* is a common enough Arabic word, but when

¹ Hirschfeld op cit 5 Dvořák *Fremdw* 17 who says: In solchen Fällen haben wir dann nichts anderes anzunehmen als das Streben Muhammeds durch die seinen Landsleuten mehr oder weniger unverständlichen Ausdrücke sich selbst den Schein der Gelehrsamkeit zu geben und zu imponiren vielleicht auch die Absicht, mystisch und undeutlich zu sein. Bell *Origin* 51.

² Cf Sura ci 1 2 6 7 lxxiv 27 lxxxvi 1 2 etc

³ Noldeke, *Sketches* 38

used with the meaning of *religion* as in ix, 32—"But God determineth to perfect His religion though the unbelievers abhor it," it is undoubtedly under the influence of the Syr use of ܪܘܚ So ܪܘܚ used in a theological sense has been influenced by ܪܘܚ,¹ and in particular ܪܘܚ ܩܕܝܫ is obviously the Syriac ܪܘܚ ܕܡܫܝܚ So ܐܡ in the sense of *metropolis* in vi, 92, etc., was doubtless influenced by the Syr ܐܡܢ,³ and ܢܦܫ when used as a technical religious term may have come under the influence of the Christian use of ܢܦܫ.⁴ Some times there is no doubt of the Qur'anic word being a translation of some technical term in one of the cognate languages. A clear instance is that of ܟܠܡܐ used of Jesus in iv, 169, etc., where it is obviously a translation of the Syr ܟܠܡܐ of Jno 1, 1, etc.,⁵ which like the Eth 𐩌𐩨𐩣 and the Copt 𐩤𐩬𐩪𐩣𐩬𐩪𐩥𐩰 represents the Gk λόγος. Similarly ܪܫܘܠ is doubtless a translation of the Syr ܪܫܘܠܐ = ἀπόστολος, and ܝܘܡ and ܣܥܐ in eschatological passages translate the ܗܡܝܪܐ and ܥܘܪܐ of the Judaeo-Christian eschatological writings.⁶ Casanova⁷ claims that ܥܡ in such passages as ii, 140, 114, iii, 17, 54, 59, etc., has a technical meaning associated with ܟܬܐ and is opposed to the word ܚܐܠܝܗ,⁸ and is thus meant as a translation of γνῶσις,⁹ and so of Christian or Gnostic origin. So one might go on enumerating words of undoubtedly

¹ Cf the Mandaean ܪܘܚ in Lidzbarski's *Mandäische Liturgien* Berlin 1920

² Mingana *Syriac Influence*, 85 Pautz *Offenbarung* 36 Fraenkel *Vocab* 24

³ Mingana op cit 88 Horovitz *KU* 141 though ܐܡܢ is used in precisely the same sense on Phoenician coins

⁴ Mingana op cit 85

⁵ Margoliouth *ERE* x 540

⁶ Doubtless through the Syr ܪܫܘܠܐ and ܟܬܐ

⁷ *Mohammed et la fin du monde* 88 ff

⁸ Which Wellhausen *Reste* 71 n 1 considered to be a translation of ἀγνοια as in Acts xvii 30 See also Casanova 90 Gerock *Christologie* 104 Noldeke Schwalli 1 242 n 10 Lidzbarski *ZS* 1 94 suggested Gnostic influence here

⁹ Again probably through the Syr ܪܫܘܠܐ

Arabic origin, but which as used in the Qur'an have been influenced more or less by the vocabulary of the religions which were so strongly influencing Arabia just before Muhammad's day and which made such a profound impress on his own teachings. As these, however, can hardly be called foreign words, only in the rarest instances are they included in the following lists

Philological questions as to the changes which foreign words undergo in coming into Arabic, need not be discussed here, as such discussion has already been given for Aramaic words by Fraenkel in the Introduction to his *Aramäische Fremdwörter*, and for Iranian words by Siddiqi *Studien*, 19 ff, 65 ff. On the broader question of demonstration of borrowing, the writer feels that the form of demonstration demanded by certain modern writers is really uncalled for and unnecessary. The English musical terms *piano*, *cantata*, *soprano*, *adagio*, *fortissimo*, *contralto*, *arpeggio*, etc., are obviously borrowed from the Italian, and there is no need of an elaborate demonstration of cultural contact with dates and names and historical connections, to prove that these words, though English, are of Italian origin. Similarly such Arabic words as *استرق*, *محبا*, *مسك*, *حاج* are on the very surface obvious borrowings from Middle Persian, and the philological argument for their foreign origin is perfectly valid on its own ground, without elaborate proof of cultural contact, etc., in each individual case.

THE FOREIGN WORDS

أَب (abb)

lxxx, 31

Herbage

It occurs only in an early Meccan passage describing the good things God has caused to grow on the earth by sending down rain. The early authorities in Islam were puzzled by the word as is evident from the discussion by Tab on the verse, and the uncertainty evidenced by Zam and Baiḍ in their comments, an uncertainty which is shared by the Lexicons (cf *LA*, i, 199, Ibn al Athīr, *Nihāya*, i, 10), and particularly by the instructive story given in Bagh, vii, 175 as Suyūṭi, *Itq*, 318, quotes Shaidhala as authority for its being a foreign word

meaning *grass* in the language of اهل العرب, by which, as we gather from the *Mutaw*, 65, he means the Berber tongue

There can be little doubt that it is the Aram אִיבָא (= אִנְבָּה of Dan iv, 9, where the Dagesh forte is resolved into Nūn) The אִיבָא of the Targums is the equivalent of Heb אֵב from אֵבֵב *to be green* (cf Cant vi, 11, Job viii, 12) Fraenkel, *Vocab*, 24, thought that the Arabic word was a direct borrowing from the Targumic אִיבָא, but the probabilities seem in favour of its coming rather from Syr اِبَا, meaning *quicquid terra producti* (Mingana, *Syriac Influence*, 88) It was probably an early borrowing from the Mesopotamian area ¹

أَبَابِل (abābīl)

cv, 3

In the description of the rout of the Army of the Elephant we read—أَبَابِلَ عَلَيْهِ طَمْرًا أَبَابِلَ where أَبَابِلَ is said to mean

flocks—حرائق Zam, or جماعات Bagh and to be the plu of اِمَالَة, which Khafājī, *Shifā*, 31, lists as a foreign word whether spelled

اِمَالَة or اِمَالَة or اِيْمَالَة The long account in *LA*, xiii, 5, makes it clear that the philologists knew not what to make of the word

¹ Cf Zimmern *Akkadische Fremdwörter* p 55

Burton, *Pilgrimage*, II, 175, quotes a Major Price as suggesting that the word has nothing to do with the birds but is another calamity in addition, the name being derived from *أَيْلَة* a *vesicle* Sprengel indeed as early as 1794 (see Opitz, *Die Medizin im Koran*, p 76), had suggested a connection of the word with smallpox, deriving it from *أب* = *father* and *أَيْل* = *lamentation* and stating that the Persians use the word *أَيْلَة* for smallpox This theory has some support in the tradition that it was smallpox which destroyed Abrahah's army,¹ but it is difficult to see how the word could be of Pers origin for it occurs in Pers only as a borrowing from Arabic, and doubtless from this passage

Carra de Vaux, *Penseurs*, III, 398, has a suggestion that it is of Persian origin, and would take the *طيرا انايل* as a mistaken reading for *يبر مايل* — *babylonian arrows*, which caused the destruction of the army The suggestion is ingenious, but hardly convincing, as we seem to know nothing elsewhere of these *تير مايل*

Apparently the word occurs nowhere in the early literature outside the Qur'an, unless we admit the genuineness of Umayya's line — *حول شيطانهم انايل * ريون شدوا سورا مدسورا* (Frag 4, 1 3, in Schulthess' ed), where it also means *crowds* If it is to be taken as an Arabic word it may possibly be a case of *توكيد الاتناع*, especially

in view of the expression quoted from al Akhfash *حات الملك انايل* The probability, however, seems in favour of its being of foreign origin, as Cheikho, *Nasrāniya*, 471, notes, though its origin is so far unknown

إِبْرَاهِيمُ (*Ibrāhīm*)

Occurs some 69 times, cf II, 118, III, 30, XLII, 11, etc
Abraham

¹ See Sprenger *Life*, 35

It is always used of the Biblical Patriarch and thus is ultimately derived from Heb **אַבְרָהָם**. If the name had come direct from the Heb we should have expected the form **أَبْرَاهَامَ**, and as a matter of fact the Muslim philologists themselves recognized that the Qur'ānic form was not satisfactory, for we hear of attempts to alter the form,¹ and an Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 126, gives variant forms **إبراهيم**, **إرهام**, **اراهيم** and **اراهم**. Moreover we learn from as Suyūṭī, *Muzhar*, 1, 138, and al Jawālīqī 8, that some early authorities recognized it as a foreign borrowing al Marwardī, indeed, informing us that in Syriac it means **ܐܒܪܚܝܡ** (Nawawī, 127), which is not far from the Rabbinic derivations

The form **إراهيم** cannot be evidenced earlier than the Qur'an, for the verses of Umayya (ed Schulthess, xxix, 9), in which it occurs, are not genuine, and Horovitz, *KU*, 86, 87, rightly doubts the authenticity of the occurrences of the name in the *Uṣd al Ghāba* and such works. The form would thus seem to be due to Muhammad himself, but the immediate source is not easy to determine. The common Syr form is **ܐܒܪܗܡ** which is obviously the source of both the Eth **Ἀβραῆμ** and the Arm **Աբրահամ**.² A marginal reading in Luke 1, 55, in the *Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels* reads **ܐܒܪܗܡ**, but Schulthess, *Lex*, 2, rightly takes this as due to a scribe who was familiar with the Arabic.³

Lidzbarski, *Johannesbuch*, 73,⁴ compares the Mandaean **ܒܪܐܗܝܡ**, which shortened form is also found as **ܐܒܪܗܡ** in the Christian Palestinian version of Luke xiii, 16 (Schulthess, *Lex*, 2), and may be compared with the **برهام** mentioned in Ibn Hisham, 352, l 18, and the Braham b Bunaj whom Horovitz, *KU*, 87, quotes from the Safa inscriptions. The final vowel, however, is missing here. Brockelmann

¹ Sprenger *Leben* 1 66 Sycz *Eigennamen* 21 Margoliouth in *MW* xv 342

² Hubschmann *Arm Gramm* 1 290

³ The forms **ܐܒܪܗܡ** and **ܐܒܪܗܡ** found in Bar Hebraeus are also probably of Arabic origin

⁴ See also *Fphemeris* 11 44 n 1

Grundriss, 1, 256, would derive **اراهيم** from **אברהם** as **شیطان** from **שטן**, by assuming a dissimilation form in Aramaic, i.e. ***אברהים**. There is no trace of such a form, however, and Brockelmann's choice

of **شیطان** as illustration is unfortunate as it appears to be a borrowed word and not original Arabic. The safest solution is that proposed by Rhodokanakis in *WZKM*, xvii, 283, and supported by Margoliouth,¹ to the effect that it has been vocalized on the analogy of *Ismā'īl* and *Isrā'īl*.² The name was doubtless well enough known in Jewish circles in pre Islamic Arabia,³ and when Muhammad got the form

اسماعيل from Judaeo Christian sources he formed **اراهيم** on the same model

إبريق (*Ibrīq*)

lv1, 18

A ewer, or water jug

Only in the plu form **أباريق** in an early Meccan description of Paradise. It was early recognized as a Persian loan-word (*Siddiqi*, 13) and is given by al Kindī, *Risāla*, 85, ath Tha'alibī, *Fiqh*, 317, as Suyūṭī⁴ and al Jawālīqī⁵ in their lists of Persian borrowings, as well as by the Lexicons, *LA*, xi, 299, *TA*, vi 286, though some attempted to explain it as a genuine Arabic word derived from **برق**.⁶

In modern Persian the word is **آبریز** meaning *urn* or *waterpot*.⁷

¹ *Schweich Lectures* p 12 see also Lidzbarski *Johannesbuch* 73 Fischer *Glossar* 163

² He says Die Form **ارهم** durfte am ehesten aus ihrer Anlehnung an **اسمعل** und der Ausgleichung mit demselben zu erklären sein nach dem bekannten kur anischen Prinzip dass Personennamen deren Träger in irgendwelchem zusammen hange stehn lautlich auf eine Form zu bringen strebt

³ Horovitz *KU* 92 *JPA* 160

⁴ *Itq* 318 *Mutaw* 46 *Muzhir* 1 136

⁵ The text of the *Mu arrab* (Sachau s ed p 17) is defective here giving the first **إما** but not the second. Correcting it by the *Itq* we read **إما أن يكون طرق الماء** و **إما صب الماء على همه**

⁶ Raghib, *Mufradat* 43 and see Bagh on the passage

Vullers *Lex* 1 8 and for further meanings see *BQ* 4 Addai Sher 6 **اروق** also occurs in Pers but only as a borrowing from Arabic

It would be derived from آب *water* (= Phlv 𐭠𐭣 *āβ*, i.e. OPers *āpi*¹ = Av 𐬔𐬀 or 𐬔𐬀𐬎, Skt 𑖦𑖩 *aqua*), and ریختی *to pour* (= Phlv 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 *rēxtan* from an old Iranian root **raek* = *inquere*),² as was suggested by Castle³ and generally accepted since his time. It was from the Phlv form that the word was borrowed into Arabic, the shortening of the *ā* being regular.⁴ The word occurs in the early poetry, in verses of 'Adī b Zaid, 'Alqama, and Al A'sha, and so was doubtless an early borrowing among the Arabs who were in contact with the court at al Hira.

إِبْلِيسَ (Iblīs)

ii, 32, vii, 10, xv, 31, 32 xvii, 63 xviii, 48, xx 115, xxvi 95, xxxiv, 19, xxxviii, 74 75

Iblīs ο διάβολος—the Devil par excellence

The tendency among the Muslim authorities is to derive the name from 𐬔𐬀𐬎 *despair*, he being so called because God caused him to despair of all good—so Raghib, *Mufradāt*, 59, and Tab on ii, 32. The more acute philologists, however, recognized the impossibility of this (an Nawawī, 138), and Zam on xix, 57, says—إِبْلِيسَ اَعْمَى *al Jawahiqi, Mu'arrab*, 17, also justly argues against an Arabic derivation.

That the word is a corruption of the Gk διάβολος has been recognized by the majority of Western scholars.⁵ In the LXX διάβολος represents the Heb 𐤁𐤏𐤔 in Zech iii, but in the NT ο διάβολος is

¹ In the Behistun inscription see Spiegel *Die altpersischen Keilinschriften* p 205

² West *Glossary* 136 Bartholomae *AIW* 1479 and see Horn *Grundriss* 141 Sayast *Glossary* p 164 Shikand *Glossary* 265

³ *Lexicon Heptaglotton* p 23 See Vullers op cit Lagarde *GA* 7 Horn *Grundriss* 141 but note Vullers *ZDMG* i 627

⁴ Siddiqi 69 On the ground of this change from *a* to *i*, Grimme *ZA* xxvi 164 looks for S Arabian influence but there is nothing in favour of this

⁵ Geiger 100 von Kremer *Ideen* 226 n Fraenkel *Vocab* 24 Sprenger *Leben* ii 242 Wensinck *EI* ii 351 Rudolph *Abhangigkeit* 35 Vullers *ZDMG* i 620 Sacco *Credenze* 61 However Pautz *Offenbarung* 69 n 3 and Eickmann *Angelologie* 26 hold to an Arabic origin though Sprenger *Leben* ii 242 n 1 had pointed out that words of this form are as a rule foreign

more than "the adversary", and particularly in the ecclesiastical writers he becomes the chief of the hosts of evil. It is in this sense that

إليس appears in the Qur'ān, so we are doubly justified in looking for a Christian origin for the word.

One theory is that it came through the Syriac, the ܐ being taken as the genitive particle,¹ a phenomenon for which there are perhaps other examples, e.g. ܥܡܬܐ for διαφωνάς (ZA, xxiv, 51), ܩܨܬܐܝܢ for δικαστής (ZDMG, I, 620), ܪܒܬܐ for δυσεντερία (Geyer, *Zwei Gedichte*, I, 119 n). The difficulty is that the normal translation of ὁ διάβολος is ܐܠܬܬܐܝܢ, the *accuser* or *calumniator*, both in the Peshitta (cf. Matt. iv) and in the ecclesiastical literature. There is a form ܥܡܬܐܝܢ, a transliteration of διάβολος, but PSm, 874, quotes this only as a dictionary word from BB. There is apparently no occurrence of the word in the old Arabic literature,² so it was possibly a word introduced by Muhammad himself. If we could assume that some such form as ܥܡܬܐܝܢ was colloquially used among the Aramaic speaking Christians with whom Muhammad came in contact, the above explanation might hold, though one would have to assume that the ܐ had been dropped by his informants. The alternative is that it came into Arabic directly from the Greek, and was used by the Arabic speaking Christians associated with the Byzantine Church.³

Grimme, ZA, xxvi, 164, suggested that it might have come from S. Arabia, perhaps influenced by the Eth. ጸያብሎስ. This, however, is apparently a rare word in Eth., the usual translation for διάβολος being ሰይጣን, though sometimes ጸጺን is used (James iv, 7, 1 Pet. v, 8, etc.). Moreover, even if there were anything in Grimme's theory that this was the form that crossed over into Arabia, his further supposition that the ጸያ was taken to be the S. Arabian 𐩦 = دى is very far fetched.

¹ So Horovitz, KU 87. Mingana, *Syriac Influence* 89, thinks rather that it was the fault of some early scribe or copyist who mistook the initial *Dal* for an *Alif*.

² The verses in Ibn Hisham 318 and 516 noted by Horovitz are from the period of the Hijra and so doubtless influenced by Muhammad's usage. They would seem fatal however to Mingana's theory.

³ Kunstlinger, 'Die Herkunft des Wortes *Iblis* im Kuran' in *Rocznik Orjen talistyczny* VI (1928) proposes the somewhat far fetched theory that *Iblis* is derived from the Jewish *Behai* by deliberate transformation.

أَحْرَ (Ajr)

Of common occurrence

Reward, wages

Besides the noun and its plu أَحُور there occur also the verbal forms إِسْأَحَر and أَحَرَّ

The Muslim savants have no suspicion that the word is not pure Arabic, though as a matter of fact the verb أَحَرَّ to receive hire, is obviously denominative

Zimmern, *Akkad Fremdw.*, 47,¹ has pointed out that the ultimate origin of the root in this sense is the Akk *agru*, *agarru*, hired servant. From this come on the one hand the Aram אַגְרָא Syr אַגְרָא, a hireling, and thence the denominative verbs אַגְר and אֲגַר, to hire with corresponding nouns אַגְר and אֲגַר, hire, and on the other hand (apparently from a popular pronunciation **aggaru*) the Gk ἀγγᾰρος, a courier²

It would have been from the Aram that the word passed into Arabic, probably at a very early period, and as the word is of much wider use in Syriac than in Jewish Aramaic,³ we are probably right in considering it as a borrowing from Syriac

أَحْمَار (Ahbār)

v, 48, 68, ix, 31, 34

Plu of حَمْر or حَمَر—a Jewish Doctor of the Law

The Commentators knew that it was a technical Jewish title and quote as an example of its use Ka'b al Ahbar,⁴ the well known convert

¹ Cf also Jensen in *ZA* vii 214 215

² Even the latest edition of Liddell and Scott persists in repeating the statement in *Stephanus Thesaurus* that it is a borrowing from Persian. It is of course possible that the word may be found in the OPers vocabulary but if so it was a loan word there from the Akkadian and there can be little doubt that the Gk ἀγγᾰρος with ἀγγᾰρεῖν and ἀγγᾰρεία came directly from the Akkadian as indeed Ed Meyer (*Geschichte des Alterthums* iii 67) had already recognized

³ For its occurrence in Aramaic incantations, see Montgomery *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* Glossary p 281 and for the Flephantine papyrus see Cowley *Aramaic Papyrus* p 178 (No 69 l 12)

⁴ The plu form أَحْمَار is explained by a verse in Ibn Hisham 659 where we learn of one whose full name was Ka b b al Ashraf Sayyid al Ahbar

from Judaism It was generally taken, however, as a genuine Arabic word derived from **حَرٍ**, to leave a scar (as of a wound), the Divines being so called because of the deep impression their teaching makes on the lives of their students, so Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 104

Geiger, 49, 53, claims that it is derived from **חבר** teacher, commonly used in the Rabbinic writings as a title of honour, e.g. Mish Sanh 60^b—**מה אהרן חבר אף בניו חברים**, “as Aaron was a Doctor so were his sons Doctors”¹ Geiger’s theory has been accepted by von Kremer, *Ideen*, 226 n, and Fraenkel, *Vocab*, 23, and is doubtless correct, though Grunbaum, *ZDMG*, xxxix, 582, thinks that in coming into Arabic

it was not uninfluenced by the Ar **حبر**, **احبر**, **حير** Mingana, *Syrac Influence*, 87, suggests that the word is of Syriac origin (see also Chekho, *Nasrāniya*, 191), but this is unlikely The word was evidently quite well known in pre Islamic Arabia,² and thus known to Muhammad from his contact with Jewish communities It was borrowed in the form of the singular and given an Arabic plural

آدَمُ (*Ādam*)

ii, 29–35, iii, 30, 52, v, 30, vii, 10, 18, 25–33 171, xvii, 63, 72, xviii, 48, xix, 59, xx, 114–119, xxxvi, 60

Adam

It is used always as an individual name and never as the Heb and Phon **אדם** for *man* in general, though the use of **آدم** in Sūra, vii, approaches this usage (Noldeke Schwally, i, 242) It is one of the few Biblical names which the early philologists such as al Jawālīqī (*Muaʿrrib*, 8) claimed as of Arabic origin There are various theories as to the derivation of the name, which may be seen in Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 12, and in the Commentaries, but all of them are quite hopeless Some authorities recognized this and Zam and Baīd, on

ii, 29, admit that it is a foreign word—**إِسْمٌ أَعْجَمِيّ**

¹ Hirschfeld *Beitrage* 51 translates by Schriftgelehrte (cf the NT γραμματεὺς – Syr **ܠܗܘܪܝܢ**) and takes it as opposed to the **עַם הָאָרֶץ**

² It occurs in the old poetry cf Horovitz *KU* 63 and Ibn Hisham 351 354 uses the word familiarly as well known cf also Wensinck *Joden te Madīna* 65 Horovitz *JPN* 197 198

The origin of course is the Heb אֲדָם, and there is no reason why the name should not have come directly from the Jews,¹ though there was a tradition that the word came from Syriac.² The name occurs in the Safaite inscriptions (Horovitz, *KU*, 85), and was known to the poet 'Adī b Zaid, so it was doubtless familiar along with the creation story to Muhammad's contemporaries

إِدْرِيسُ (*Idrīs*)

xix, 57, xxi, 85

Idris

He is one of the Prophets casually mentioned in the Qur'ān, where all the information we have about him is (i) that he was a man of truth (xix, 57), (ii) that God raised him to a 'place on high'

رَفَعْنَاهُ مَكَانًا عَلِيًّا (xix, 58), and (iii) that being steadfast and patient he entered God's mercy (xxi, 85)

The Muslim authorities are agreed that he is أَحَدُوح, i.e. חֲנוּךְ, the Biblical Enoch,³ a theory derived not only from the facts enumerated above, but from the idea that his name اِدْرِيس is derived from دَرَسَ *to study*—both Jewish and Christian legend attributing to Enoch the mastery of occult wisdom.⁴ The fallacy of this derivation was, however, pointed out by some of the philologists, as Zam on xix, 57, shows, and that the name was of foreign origin was recognized by al Jawālīqī, *Mu'arrab*, 8, *Qāmūs*, 1 215, which makes it the more strange that some Western scholars such as Sprenger, *Leben*, II, 336,⁵ and Eickmann, *Angelologie*, 26, have considered it to be a pure Arabic word

¹ Ibn Qutaiba *Ma'arif* 180 (Eg. ed.) notes a variant reading اِدَام which may represent a Jewish pronunciation

² Sycz *Eigennamen* 18

³ Thālabī *Qisas* 34

⁴ حَك of course means *to instruct to initiate* (cf. حَك) and may have suggested the connection with دَرَسَ. For the derivation see Thālabī loc. cit. Ibn Qutaiba *Ma'arif* 8 Finkel *MW* xxii 181 derives it from *Εὐδωρεσχος* the 7th antediluvian King of Berossus but this is very far fetched

⁵ He seems to base this on the occurrence of the name Abu Idrīs but see Horovitz *Kl* 88

Noldeke has pointed out, *ZA*, xvii, 83, that we have no evidence that Jews or Christians ever called Enoch by any name derived from עֶנֶךְ or ܐܢܚܐ, and though Geiger, 105, 106, thinks the equivalence of

ورفعناه مكانا عليا of xix, 58, with the μετέθηκεν αὐτὸν ὁ Θεός

of Heb xi, 5, from the Midrash, sufficient to justify the identification, we may well doubt it Casanova, *JA*, 1924, vol ccv, p 358 (so Torrey, *Foundation*, 72) suggested that the reference was to Ἑσδρας which

through a form Ἑξρας became ادریس Albright¹ imagines that

it refers to Hermes Poemandres, the name being derived from the final element in the Greek name Ποιμάνδρης, while Montgomery, *JQR*, xxv, 261, would derive it from Atrahasis, the Babylonian Noah

None of these suggestions, however, comes as near as that put forward by Noldeke in *ZA*, xvii, 84, that it is the Arabic form of Ἀνδρέας filtered through a Syriac medium² In Syriac we find various forms of the name ܐܢܕܪܐܝܐ ܐܢܕܪܐܝܐ ܐܢܕܪܐܝܐ and ܐܢܕܪܐܝܐ this latter being the form in Christian-Palestinian, and from this by the coalescing

of the *n* and *d* we get the Ar ادریس Grimme, *ZA*, xxvi, 164, suggested

a S Arabian origin but there is no trace of the name in the inscriptions and the Eth አንደርያስ has nothing in its favour

أَرَائِكُ (*Arā'ik*)

xviii, 30, xxxvi, 56, lxxvi, 13, lxxxiii, 23, 35

Couches Plu of أَرَيْكَة

We find the word only in passages descriptive of Paradise The Muslim authorities as a rule take it as an Arabic word derived from

أَرَك but their theories of its derivation are not very helpful, as may be seen from Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 14, or the Lexicons *LA*, xii, 269, *TA*, vii,

¹ *Journal of Palestine Oriental Society* ii 197-8 and in *AJSL* 1927 p 235 n

² Noldeke's earlier suggestion in *ZDMG* xii 706 was that it might stand for Θεόδωρος, but in *ZA* xvii he refers it to the Παῖσις Ἀνδρέου and thinks the lifting him to a place on high may refer to the saint's crucifixion R Hartmann in *ZA*, xxiv, 315 however, recognized this Andreas as the famous cook of Alexander the Great

100 Some early philologists concluded that it was foreign, and as Suyūṭī, *Itq*, 318, says that Ibn al Jawzī gave it as an Abyssinian loan word, and on p 310 has the interesting statement—"Abū 'Ubaid related that

Al Hasan said—We used not to know the meaning of **الارائك** until

we met a man from Yemen who told us that among them an **اريكه** was a pavilion containing a bed "

Addai Sher, 9, says that it is the Pers **اورك**, by which he

probably means **اورنگ** *throne* the colloquial form for **اورد** (Vullers,

Lex, 1, 141), but there does not seem to be anything in this There is nothing in Eth with which we can relate it, and the probabilities are that it is of Iranian origin, especially as we find it used in the verses of the old poets, e g al A'sha, who were in contact with Iranian culture (cf Horovitz, *Parades*, 15)

إِرَم (*Iram*)

lxxxix, 6

Iram the city of the people of 'Ad

The number of variant readings for this **إِرَم** in **دَابَّالْهَمَادِ** suggests of itself that the word was a foreign one of which the exegetes could make nothing The older theory among Western scholars was that it was **إِرَم**¹ but the story is clearly S Arabian, as appears from xlvī, 20, and as a matter of fact Hamdanī (ed D H Muller, p 126 129) mentions two other Irams in S Arabia, so that the name is doubtless S Arabian² The name is frequently mentioned in the early literature³.

آزَر (*Āzar*)

vi, 74

Āzar—the father of Abraham

¹ Wetstein in his Appendix to Delitzsch's *Huob* 1876 Pautz *Offenbarung* 273 Łycz *Eigennamen* 54 O Loth *ZDMG* xxxv 628

² D H Muller *Sudarabische Studien* 134 ff *Burgen und Schlosser* p 418

³ See passages in Horovitz *KU* 89, 90

The consensus of opinion among the exegetes is that **آرر** is the name of Abraham's father, and is **اسم اعمى**. It was also well known, however, that the real name of Abraham's father was **تارح** or **تارح**, e.g. at Tabarī, *Annales*, i, 252, an-Nawawī, 128, al Jawālīqī, *Mu'arrab*, 21, *TA*, iii, 12, etc., obviously reproducing the **תרח** of Gen xi, 26, etc. In order to escape the difficulty some took **آرر** to be the name of an idol—**اسم صدم**, or an abusive epithet applied by Abraham to his father¹. They also have various theories as to the origin of the word, some taking it to be Hebrew (as Suyūṭī, *Itq*, 318) some Syriac (Zam on vi, 74), and some Persian (Bagh on vi, 74). Their suggestions, however, are obviously guesses and do not help us at all.

The solution generally found in European works is that which was first set forth by Marracci in *Prodromus*, iv, 90, that the Talmudic name for Terah, by a metathesis became *Aθap* in Eusebius, and this gives the Arabic *Āzar*. This has been repeated over and over again from Ewald² and Sale down to the modern Ahmadiyya Commentators, and even Geiger 128, though he does not mention Marracci, argues that

תרח = **Θάρα** (LXX, **Θάρρα**) by metathesis gives *Aθap* and thus **آرر** while Dvořák, *Fremdwörter*, 38, goes even further in discussing the probability of Gk **θ** being pronounced like z. The fact, however, is that Marracci simply misread Eusebius, who uses no such form as *Aθap*³.

Hyde in his *Historia Religionis veterum Persarum*, p. 62, suggested that *Āzer* was the heathen name of Abraham's father, who only became known as Terah after his conversion. This heathen name he would connect with the Av **آزار** *āzar*⁴ (cf Skt **अश्विन**), Phlv

¹ Vide as Suyūṭī 318 and the Commentators. It should be noted that Zam gives a number of variant readings for the word showing that the earliest authorities were puzzled by it.

² *Geschichte Israels* i 483.

³ The passage reads (*Hist Eccl* ed Schwartz i iv p 14)—**μετα δε και τουτοις** **ετέροις των δε του Νωε παιδων και απογονων αταρ και τον Αβρααμ ον αρχηγον και προπατορα σφων αυτων παιδες Εβραιων αυχουσι** where the unusual **αταρ** was apparently misread as *Aθap*. Cf Pautz *Offenbarung* 242 n.

⁴ Bartholomae *AIW* 312.

ātur,¹ Paz *ādur*, and the Mod Pers *آدر* used as the name of the fire demon,² and in the Persian histories given as the name of Abraham's father Hyde, however, has fallen into error in not noticing that the name *آدر پور* given to Abraham in the Persian writings³ simply means "son of the fire", and has no reference to his father, but is derived from the Qur'ānic account of his experiences in Sūra, xxi

B Fisher in *Bibel und Talmud*, Leipzig, 1881, p 85 n, suggested that Muhammad or his informants had misunderstood the epithet *הַאֲזָחִי* (he who has sprung from the East) applied to Abraham in the Talmud (Baba Bathra 15a), and taking it to mean "Son of *אֶזְרָח*", gave his father's name as *آزر*

The correct solution, however, would appear to be that given by Fraenkel in *ZDMG*, lvi, p 72, and accepted by both Horovitz, *KU*, 85, 86, *JPN*, 157, and Sycz, *Eigennamen*, 37 In *WZKM*, iv, 338,

Fraenkel suggested that both *آزر* and *عار* go back to the Heb *אלעזר*, and in *ZDMG*, lvi, 72, he argues convincingly that the Qur'ānic form is due to a confusion on Muhammad's part of the details of the Abraham story as it came to him, so that instead of his father *תֶּרַח* he has given the name of Abraham's faithful servant *אליעזר* Sycz's theory that it was a mistake between two passages *אליעזר* *עבד אברהם* and *תרת אבי אברהם* is a little too remote, but the confusion of names can be held as certain The *אל* was probably taken as the article,⁴ and on the question of vowel change

Fraenkel compares the series *فالع هدي فلان* As there is a genuine Arabic name *عيرار* (Tab, *Annales*, i, 3384, Ibn Sa'd, vi, 214), Horovitz, *KU*, 86, thinks that Muhammad may have been influenced by this in his formation of the name

¹ Horn *Grundriss* 4 Shikand *Glossary* 226 Nyberg *Glossar* 20 Herzfeld *Parkuh Glossary* 126 and 148

² In Phlv *סַזון* *Ātar* is the Angel of Fire see West *Glossary* p 7

³ Vullers *Lex* i 380

⁴ As often cf examples in Geyer *Zwei Gedichte* i 118 n

أَسَاطِيرُ (Asātīr)

vi, 25, viii, 31, xvi, 26, xxiii, 85, xxv, 6, xxvii, 70, xlv, 16, lxviii, 15, lxxxiii, 13

Fables, idle tales

We find the word only in the combination أساطير الاولين "tales of the ancients", which was the Meccan characterization of the stories brought them by Muhammad Sprenger, *Leben*, II, 396 ff, thought that the reference was to a book of this title well known to Muhammad's contemporaries, but this theory has been combated in Noldeke Schwally, I, 16 ff,¹ and its impossibility becomes clear from a passage in Ibn Hishām, 235, where Nadr b al Harith is made to say—"By Allah, Muhammad is no better a raconteur than I am His stories are naught but tales of the ancients (أساطير الاولين) which he writes down just as I do"

The Muslim authorities take it as a form سطر from سطر to write, considering it as a plu of أسطورة or أسطاره (Sijistāni, 10), or the plu of a plu (LA, vi, 28) The verb سَطَرَ, however, as Fraenkel has shown (*Fremdw*, 250), is a denominative from سطر, and this itself is a borrowing from Aram שטרה, שטרה (Noldeke, *Qorans*, 13) It is possible but not probable that أساطير was formed from this borrowed سطر

Sprenger, *Leben*, II, 395,² suggested that in أساطير we have the Gk *ιστορία*, a suggestion also put forward by Fleischer in his review of Geiger (*Kleinere Schriften*, II, 119), and which has been accepted by many later scholars³ The objections to it raised by Horovitz, *KU*, 70, are, however, insuperable The word can hardly have come into Arabic directly from the Greek, and the Syr ܐܣܬܝܪܐ occurs only

¹ See also Hirschfeld *New Researches* 22 41 ff on Sprenger's *Suhuf* theories

² Vide also his remarks in *JASB* xx 119 and see Freytag *Lexicon* sub voc

³ Vollers, *ZDMG*, I, 312 See also Künstlinger in *OLZ* 1936 481 ff

as a learned word (*PSm*, 298) The derivation from Syr suggested by Noldeke Schwally, i, 16 n, is much more satisfactory **ܐܡܬܐ** (cf Aram **ܐܡܬܐ**) is the equivalent of the Gk *χειρόγραφον*,¹ and is a word commonly used in a sense in which it can have come into Arabic It was doubtless borrowed in this sense in the pre Islamic period,² for in a verse of the Meccan poet 'Abdallah b az Zība'rā, quoted in 'Ainī, iv, 140, we read **الهي قصيًا عن الحد الاساطير** "the stories have averted Qusay from glory"

In S Arabian, as D H Muller points out (*WZKM*, i, 29) we have **ܐܡܬܐ** meaning an *inscription*, and **ܐܡܬܐ** is the usual verb for *scripsit* (Rossini, *Glossarium*, 194), so it is not impossible that there was

S Arabian influence on the form of the word See further under **سَطَر**

ܐܡܬܐ (*Aḥbāt*)

ii, 130, 134, iii, 78, iv, 161, vii, 160

The Tribes Plu of **سَطَر**

It occurs only in Madīnan passages and always refers to the Children of Israel In vii, 160, it is used normally of the Twelve Tribes, but in all the other passages the **اساط** are spoken of as recipients of revelation, and one suspects that here Muhammad is confusing the Jewish use of "the Twelve" for the Minor Prophets with that for the Twelve Tribes³

The philologists derive it from **سَطَر** a *thistle*, their explanation thereof being interesting if not convincing (*LA*, ix, 182) Some, however, felt the difficulty, and Abu l Laith was constrained to admit that it was a Hebrew loan-word (as Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, 318, *Mutaw*, 58) The ultimate source, of course, is the Heb **שָׁבַט**, and Geiger 141, followed by many

¹ Cf **ܐܡܬܐ** *chevrographum dubium* as contrasted with **ܐܡܬܐ** *chevrographum validum*

² So Mingana *Syriac Influence* 89

³ Vide Sprenger *Leben* ii 276 who thinks Muhammad took it to be a proper name which, however is unlikely in view of vii 160 (Hirschfeld *Beiträge* 41)

later scholars¹ has argued for the direct borrowing from Hebrew Fraenkel, however, noted the possibility of its having been borrowed through the Syr **ܡܚܒܐ** = $\phi\nu\lambda\eta'$ ² and Mingana, *Syriac Influence*, 86, definitely claims it as a Syriac loan word. It is impossible to decide, but in any case it was borrowed in the sing. and given an Arabic plural.

There does not seem to be any well attested pre-Islamic example of the use of the word, for the case in Samau'al cannot be genuine, as Noldeke shows (*ZA*, xxvii, 178), and that in Umayya, lv, 7, seems to depend on Sūra, lxxxix, 23. This confirms the idea that it was a late introduction probably by Muhammad himself.

إِسْتَبْرَق (Istabraq)

xviii, 30, xlv, 53, lv, 54, lxxvi, 21

Silk brocade

Used only in early passages in description of the raiment of the faithful in Paradise. It is one of the few words that have been very generally recognized by the Muslim authorities as a Persian loan word, cf. aḍ Dahhak in as Suyūṭī, *Itq*, 319, al Asma'ī in as Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, i, 137, as Sijistānī, 49, al-Jawharī, *Siḥāḥ* sub voc. al Kindī, *Risāla*, 85, Ibn al Athīr, *Nihāya*, i, 38. Some, indeed, took it as an Arabic word,

attempting to derive it from رَق (cf. Baiḍ on lxxvi, 21), but their argument depends on a variant reading given by Ibn Muḥaisin which cannot be defended (Dvorak, *Fremdw*, 39, 40).

The philologists, however, were in some confusion as to the original Persian form. *LA*, xi, 285, quotes az Zajjaḡ as stating it was from Pers.

استقره, and *TA*, vi, 292, quotes Ibn Duraid to the effect that it is

from Syr استروه, neither of which forms exist. The *Qāmūs*, s. v.

رَق, however, rightly gives it as from استره,³ which al Jawharī,

¹ Fraenkel *Vocab* 21. Pautz *Offenbarung* 124 n. Hirschfeld *Beiträge* 41. Horovitz *AI* 90.

² Horovitz also notes this possibility. The Palestinian form **ܡܚܒܐ** quoted by Schwally *Idioticon* 92 which agrees closely with the Talmudic **מחבא** is not so close to the Arabic.

³ So *TA* loc. cit. and al Khafajī in his supercommentary to Baiḍawī cf. also Addai Sher 10.

Sihāh, says is from سطر, meaning عَظِيمٌ¹ Pers استر, sometimes written اسطر, as al Jawharī gives it,² is a form of سِتر, meaning big, thick, gross, apparently from a root, استوار firm, stable (cf Skt स्खिर³, Av 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬙𐬭𐬀𐬢𐬀𐬊𐬵 staura⁴, Oss st'ur⁵, and Arm սոսկաբ) ⁶ The Phlv 𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬢𐬀𐬊𐬵 staβr = thick (Nyberg, Glossar, 206), is used of clothing in eschatological writings, e.g. Arda Viraf, xiv, 14, 𐬕𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬢𐬀𐬊𐬵 𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬢𐬀𐬊𐬵 𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬢𐬀𐬊𐬵 “and glorious and thick splendid clothing” Phlv 𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬢𐬀𐬊𐬵, with the suffix 𐬱, gives the Mod Pers دیای کده وستر which BQ, 994, defines as سطر, and Vullers Lex, i, 94, as vestis serica crassior

From Mid Pers the word was borrowed into Armenian as *լստաւարսի* ⁷, and into Syr as *ܠܣܬܪܐ* or *ܠܣܬܪܐ* ⁸ Ibn Duraid, according to *TA*, vi, 292, quoted *استرو* as a borrowing from Syr, but *PSm*, 294, gives the Syr forms only as dictionary words from *BA* and *BB*, and there can be little doubt that the word passed directly into Arabic from the Middle Persian ⁹ The Ar *ق* represents the Phlv suffix *𐭪*, ¹⁰ which in Syr normally became *ܥ*, as we see in such examples

¹ BQ 492 defines it as كده ولك وبك وعلط

² Vullers *I ex* 1 97

³ Iagarde GA 13 **स्थविर** means *thick compact solid* cf Monier Williams Sanscrit Dictionary 1265

⁴ Bartholomae *AIW* 1592 Horn *Grundriss* p 158 Hubschmann *Persische Studien* 74

For this Ossetian form see Hubschmann *ZDMG* xxxix 93

⁶ Hubschmann 4rm *Gramm* 1 493 Cf also Gk σταυρος

⁷ Hubschmann *Arm. Gramm.* 1: 153. The form seems proof that the borrowing was from Pers. and not from Ar. though the passage in Moses Kalankatuaci which Hubschmann quotes refers to *ըստաւրակս և զգիպակս* a gift from the Caliph Mu'awiyah I. Cf. Stackelberg in *ZDMG* xlviii: 490.

⁸ Fraenkel *Vocab* 25 quotes this as ܡܕܐܢܐ which is copied by Dvořák *Fremdw* 42 and Horowitz *Paradies* 16 but neither this form nor the ܡܕܐܢ quoted by Addai Sher 10 is to be found in the Syriac Lexicons.

⁹ Mingana *Syriac Influence* 88 however claims that the borrowing was from Syriac into Arabic.

¹⁰ The philologists had recognized however that Pers ك did sometimes become و in Ar Cf Sibawayh in Siddiqi 21

as Phlv **ܐܪܝܨܬܐ** *aristāk* (= Pers **استا** or **افستا**),¹ which in Syr is **ܐܪܝܨܬܐ**, and in Ar **استاق** (Ibn al Athīr, *Nihāya*, i, 38)

إِسْحَاق (*Ishāq*)

ii, 127-134, iii, 78, iv, 161, vi, 84, xi, 74, xii, 6, 38, xiv, 41, xix, 50, xxi, 72, xxix, 26, xxxvii, 112, 113, xxxviii, 45

Isaac

The Biblical Patriarch, who is never mentioned save in connection with one or more of the other Patriarchs, and never in an early passage

It was early recognized by the philologists that it was a foreign name, cf Sībawaih in Siddīqī, 20, and *LA*, xii, 20, al Jawālīqī, *Mu'ar rab*, 9, as Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, i, 138, though it was not uncommon in some

quarters to regard it as an Arabic word derived from **سحق**, for as Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, i, 140, goes out of his way to refute this. It was even known that it was Heb (cf ath Tha'labī, *Qisas*, 76), and indeed Sūra, xi, 74, seems to show acquaintance with the popular Hebrew derivation from **צחק**

The Arabic form which lacks the initial ' of the *OT* forms **צחק** and **ישחק** would seem to point to a Christian origin,² cf Gk **Ἰσαακ**, Syr **ܐܝܨܬܐ** or **ܐܝܨܬܐ**,³ though it is true that in the Talmud we come across a **בַּר אִיסָק** (*Baba Mezi'a*, 39^b), showing a form with initial vowel among the Babylonian Jews of the fourth century A D ⁴

The name **إِسْحَاق** must have been known before the Qur'an, but no pre-Islamic instances of it seem to occur, for those quoted by Cheikhō, *Nasrāniya*, 229, 230, are rightly rejected by Horovitz, *KU*, 91

إِسْرَائِيل (*Isrā'īl*)

Occurs some 43 times Cf ii, 38

¹ West *Glossary* 13

² Sprenger *Leben* ii p 336 Fraenkel *ZA* xv 394 Horovitz *JPA* 155 and Mingana's note *Syriac Influence* 83 Torrey *Foundation* 49 however takes this to be a characteristic of his assumed Judæo Arabic dialect

³ This is the Christian Palestinian form cf Schulthess *Ler* 14

⁴ Derenbourg in *REJ* xviii 127 suggests that **צחק** may have been pronounced among the Arabian Jews as **ܐܨܬܐ**

Usually it stands for the Children of Israel, but in 111, 87, and 119, 59, it is the name of the Patriarch otherwise called يعقوب

Some of the exegetes endeavoured to derive it from سري "to travel by night", because when Jacob fled from Esau he travelled by night (cf. at-Tabarī, *Annales*, 1, 359, and Ibn al Athīr) It was very generally recognized as a foreign name, however (cf. al-Jawahiqī, 9, al Khafājī, 11),¹ and is given as such by the Commentators Zam and Baiḍ on 11, 38

Here also the absence of the initial ' stands against a direct derivation from the Heb יִשְׂרָאֵל, and points to a Christian origin, cf. Gk Ἰσραήλ, Syr ܐܝܪܐܝܠ, Eth አስራኤል The probabilities are in favour of a Syriac origin² especially in view of the Christian Palestinian forms ܐܝܪܐܝܠ, ܐܝܪܐܝܠ (Schulthess, *Icx*, 16) The name was doubtless well enough known to the people of Muhammad's day and though no pre-Islamic example of its use in N. Arabia seems to have survived³ 1ከጳጳጵ occurs in S. Arabian inscriptions, cf. *CIS*, iv, 543, l. 1

أُسُس (Ussis)

ix, 109

Founded

The verbal form أُسَسَ occurs in ix, 110 The verb is denominative from أُسٌّ, a foundation, which Fraenkel, *Fremdw*, 11, noted was an Aramaic borrowing, cf. Aram אִשָּׁן foundation, and in the Christian Palestinian dialect the verb ܐܝܪܐܝܠ = εθεμελίωσε, ܐܝܪܐܝܠ = τεθεμελίωτο, and ܐܝܪܐܝܠ = θεμέλιον (Schwally, *Idioticon*, 7), so classical Syr ܐܝܪܐܝܠ (and see Noldeke, *Mand. Gramm.*, 98, n. 2, Zimmern, *Akkad. Fremdw*, 31, Henning, *BSOS*, ix, 80)

¹ al Khafājī notes the uncertainty as to the spelling of the word اسرائيل and اسرائيل being known besides اسرائيل

² Mingana *Syriac Influence* 81 Horowitz *KU* 91 The *Qamus* as a matter of fact says that all forms ending in سل are سرائى though Tab on 11, 38 claims that سل is Heb

³ All those given by Cheikho *Nasraniya* 230 are doubtless influenced by Qur'anic usage

أَسْلَمَ (*Aslama*)

Of frequent use, cf ii, 106, 125

To submit, to surrender

With this must be taken **الاسلام** (iii, 17 79, etc), and the participial forms **مُسْلِمٌ**, etc

The verb **سَلِمَ** is genuine Arabic, corresponding with Heb **שָׁלַם**, Phon **שָׁלַם** *to be complete, sound* Aram **שָׁלִים**, Syr **ܫܠܡܐ** *to be complete, safe* Akk *šalāmu, to be complete, unharmed* This primitive verb, however, does not occur in the Qur'an Form II, **سَلَّمَ**, is fairly common, but this is a denominative from **سلام**, and **سلام** as we shall see is a borrowed word ¹

As used in the Qur'an **أَسْلَمَ** is a technical religious term,² and there is even some development traceable in Muhammad's use of it ³ Such a phrase as **مَنْ يُسْلِمْ وَحَقَّهُ إِلَى اللَّهِ** in xxxi, 21,⁴ seems to give the word in its simplest and original sense and then **اسلم لرب العالمين** (xl, 68, vi, 70, ii, 125), and **اسلم لله** or **اسلم له** (xxvii, 45, ii, 127, iii, 77, xxxix, 55), are a development from this Later, however the word comes practically to mean "to profess Islam, i.e. to accept the religion which Muhammad is preaching, cf xlviii, 16, xlix 14, 17, etc Now in pre Islamic times **أسلم** is used in the primitive sense of 'hand over', noted above For instance, in a verse of Abū Azza in Ibn Hisham, 556, we read—**لَا تُسْلِمُونِي لِأَيِّحِلُّ إِسْلَامٌ** 'hand me not over for such betrayal is not lawful' ⁵ The Qur'anic use is an

¹ On the development of meaning in S. Arabian **سَلِمَ** see Rossini *Glossarium* 196

² See Lvall *JRAS* 1903 p 782

³ See Lidzbarski's article *Salam und Islam* in *ZS* i 85 ff

⁴ Cf also ii 106 iii 18 iv 124 On the probable genesis of this see Margoliouth in *JRAS* 1903 pp 473 474

⁵ For other examples see Margoliouth's article as above

intelligible development from this sense, but the question remains whether this was a development within Arabic itself or an importation from without

Margolouth in *JRAS*, 1903, p 467 ff, would favour a development within Arabic itself, perhaps started by Musailama, but as Lyall pointed out in the same Journal (p 771 ff), there are historical difficulties in the way of this Lidzbarski, *ZS*, 1, 86, would make it a denomina-

tive from **سَلَام** which he takes as a translation of *σωτηρία*, but Horovitz, *KU*, 55, rightly objects

The truth seems to be that it was borrowed as a technical religious term from the older religions. Already in the O Aram inscriptions we find that **שָׁלַם** as used in proper names has acquired this technical religious significance,¹ as e g **שְׁלִמְלָת**, etc. The same sense is found in the Rabbinic writings (Horovitz, *KU* 55), but it is particularly in Syriac that we find **ܐܡܠܥܐ** used precisely as in the Qur'an e g "he devoted himself to God and His Church", or **ܐܡܠܥܐ ܕܝܗܝܫܘܥ ܒܥܡܪܐ**,² and one feels confident in looking here for the origin of the Arabic word

مُسْلِمٌ, of course, is a formation from this,³ and was in use in pre-Islamic Arabia **الاسلام**, however, would seem to have been formed by Muhammad himself after he began to use the word

إِسْمَاعِيلُ (*Ismā'īl*)

ii, 119-134, iii, 78, iv, 161, vi, 86, xiv, 41, xix, 55, xxi, 85, xxxviii, 48

Ishmael

The Muslim philologists early recognized that it was non-Arabic, as is clear from Zam on xix, 55, and from its being treated as non-Arabic by al-Jawālīqī, *Mu'arrab*, 9, al-Khafajī, 10, as Suyūṭī, *Muzḥir*,

¹ Robertson Smith *Religion of the Semites* 79 ff

² The example given by Horovitz viz **ܐܡܠܥܐ ܕܝܗܫܘܥ ܒܥܡܪܐ**,
is curiously like **ܐܡܠܥܐ ܕܝܗܫܘܥ ܒܥܡܪܐ**

³ *Sūra* li 36 xxii 77 and note Bagh vii 192 and Ya qūbī *Hist* i 259 and its use in Safaite (Ryckmans *Noms propres* i 239)

1, 138 Various forms of the name are given—اسماعيل, اسمعيل, اسماعيل and اسمائيل, the ش in this last form, quoted from Sibawaih in *Muzhir*, 1, 132, being significant

A Christian origin for the word is evident from a comparison of the Gk Ἰσμαήλ, Syr ܐܡܨܥܝܠ, Eth 𐩧𐩨𐩣𐩬𐩪, with the Heb שמעאל. A form derived from Heb occurs in the inscriptions of both the S and N of the Peninsula.¹ In S Arabia we find in a Himyaritic inscription 𐩧𐩨𐩣𐩬𐩪² — 𐩧𐩨𐩣𐩬𐩪 (cf Eth 𐩧𐩨𐩣𐩬𐩪), and in the Safaite inscriptions of N Arabia we find a form 𐩧𐩨𐩣𐩬𐩪³. It is thus clear that the form with initial ' was well enough known in Arabia before Muhammad's day, but on the other hand, there seems to be no evidence that the form used in the Qur'ān was in use as a personal name among the Arabs in pre-Islamic times.⁴ The fact that in the Qur'an we find 𐩧𐩨𐩣𐩬𐩪 for يوسف and يعقوب for يعقوب, but

اسرائيل for ישראל and اسمعيل for שמעאל, just as in Syr we find ܐܡܨܥܝܠ and ܐܡܨܥܝܠ, but ܐܡܨܥܝܠ and ܐܡܨܥܝܠ makes it reasonably certain that the Qur'ānic form came from a Syr source,⁵ and the form ܐܡܨܥܝܠ in the Christian Palestinian dialect removes any difficulty which might have been felt of ش for س.⁶

¹ D. H. Müller suggests that the name is an independent formation in S. Arabian (*WZKM* 111 225 being followed in this by Horovitz *JPA* 155 156) but this is a little difficult.

² Hal 193 1 cf *CIS* 14 1 55 with other references in Pilster's Index of S. Arabian Proper Names *PSBA* 1917 p. 110 and Hartmann *Arabische Frage* 182 226 252-4. Derenbourg in his note on this inscription *CIS* 14 1 56 takes it as a composite name in imitation of the Heb. but see Müller *WZKM* 111 225 *ZDMG* xxxvii 13 ff. Ryckmans *Noms propres* 1 239 and *RES* 1 No 219.

³ Dussaud, *Mission* 221. Littmann *Semitic Inscriptions* 116 117 123. *En zifferung der Safa Inschriften* 58. Lidzbarski *Ephemeris* 11 44.

⁴ The examples collected by Cheikho *Nasraniya*, 230 cannot as Horovitz *KU* 92 shows be taken as evidence for the pre-Islamic use of the name. The form Ἰσμαήλος quoted by Horovitz from Waddington from an inscription of A.D. 341 may be only a rendering of שמעאל.

⁵ Margoliouth *Schweich Lectures* 12. Mingana *Syriac Influence* 82 and cf Sprenger *Leben* 11 336.

⁶ Schulthess *Lex* 15 and cf Horovitz *KU* 92. Rhodokanakis *WZKM* xvii 283.

أَعْرَافُ (Al A'rāf)

vii, 44, 46

Al A'rāf

It is usually taken to mean the wall which separates Paradise from Hell. The philologists were at a loss to explain the word, the two favourite theories being (i) that it is the plu. of **عر** used of the mane of a horse or the comb of a cock, and thus a metaphor for the highest part of anything (Zam, in loco *LA*, xi, 146), or (ii) that it is from **عرف** to know, and so called because of the knowledge **أصحاب الأعراف** had of those in the Garden and those in the Fire.

Tor Andrae, *Ursprung*, 78, and Lidzbarski, *ZS*, ii, 182, claim that the word is Arabic, though translating an idea derived from one of the older religions.¹ There is difficulty with this, however, and perhaps a better solution is that proposed long ago by Ludolf,² viz. that it is the Eth **ኣዕረፈ**. Horovitz, *Paradies*, 8, objects to this on the ground that Muhammad does not use **أعراف** for the souls of the departed, but for the place where they, or at least some of them, dwell, which would be **ጾዕረ-ፍ**. It is by no means unlikely, however, that Muhammad understood the verb **ኣዕረፈ**,³ used of the blessed departed, as a place name, for **ኣዕረፈ** and **ዕረፍት** seem much more commonly used in this sense than **ጾዕረ-ፍ**. It is even possible that **أعراف** is a corruption of **ጾዕረ-ፍ**. The introduction of the word would seem to be due to Muhammad himself, for the occurrence of the word in Umayya, xlix, 14, is rightly suspected by Horovitz of being under Qur'ānic influence.

¹ Lidzbarski would take it as an attempt to translate the Mandaean = the watch towers but this is rather remote.

² *Ad Historiam Æthiopicam Commentarius* p. 207. He writes 'أعراف' Muhammedis Limbus medius inter Paradisum et Infernum locus receptaculum medius generis hominum qui tantundem boni ac mali in hoc mundo fecerunt. Id autem aliunde justius derivari nequit quam a rad. Æthiopica **ኣዕረፈ** = *requiescit* quo verbo Æthiopes de pie defunctis utuntur.

³ Praetorius, *Beit Ass* i. 23 however takes **ኣዕረፈ** as a denom. from **عر**.

الله (Allāh)

Of very frequent occurrence

God

One gathers from ar Rāzī, *Mafātīh*, 1, 84 (so Abū Hayyan, *Bahr*, 1, 15), that certain early Muslim authorities held that the word was of Syriac or Hebrew origin. The majority, however, claimed that it was pure Arabic, though they set forth various theories as to its derivation.¹

Some held that it has no derivation, being مرتحل the Kūfans in general derived it from ^عاللاه, while the Basrans derived it from ^عاللاه, taking ^علاه as a verbal noun from ^عليه to be high or to be veiled.

The suggested origins for ^عاللاه were even more varied, some taking it from ^عاله to worship, some from ^عاله to be perplexed, some from ^عاله الى to turn to for protection, and others from ^عوله to be perplexed.

Western scholars are fairly unanimous that the source of the word must be found in one of the older religions. In the Semitic area ^عاله was a widely used word for deity, cf. Heb. אלה, Aram. אלה, Syr. ܐܠܗܐ, Sab. 𐩇𐩣𐩂, and so Ar. ^عاله is doubtless a genuine old Semitic form. The form ^عاله, however, is different, and there can be little doubt that this, like the Mandaean ܐܠܗܐ and the Pahlavi ideogram,² goes back to the Syr. ܐܠܗܐ (cf. Grunbaum, *ZDMG*, xxxix, 571, Sprenger, *Leben*, 1, 287-9, Ahrens, *Muhammad*, 15, Rudolph, *Abhängigkeit*, 26, Bell, *Origin*, 54, Cheikho, *Nasrānīya*, 159, Mingana, *Syriac Influence*, 86). The word, however, came into use in Arabian heathenism long before Muhammad's time (Wellhausen, *Reste*, 217, Nielsen in *HAA*, 1, 218 ff). It occurs frequently in the N. Arabian inscriptions,³ and also in those from S. Arabia, as, e.g.,

¹ They are discussed in detail by ar Rāzī on pp. 81-4 of the first volume of his *Tafsīr*.

² Herzfeld *Parkuh Glossary* 135.

³ Cf. Littmann *Entzifferung der thamudischen Inschriften* p. 63 ff. *Sem. Inscr.* p. 113 ff. and Ryckmans *Noms propres* 1. 2. *RES* 111. 441.

𐤁𐤃𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤁𐤃𐤁𐤃𐤁 “with all the Gods” (in Glaser, *Abessinien*, 50),¹ as well as in the pre Islamic oath forms, such as that of Qais b Khatim given by Horovitz, *KU*, 140, and many in ash Shanqiti’s introduction to the *Mu‘allaqāt*. It is possible that the expression **الله تعالى** is of S Arabian origin, as the name **𐤁𐤃𐤁𐤃𐤁** occurs in a Qatabanian inscription²

ٱللَّهُمَّ (*Allahumma*)

III, 25, v, 114, VIII, 32, x, 10, XXXIX, 47

An invocatory name for God

The form of the word was a great puzzle to the early grammarians³ the orthodox explanation being that it is a vocative form where the final **م** takes the place of an initial **يا**. The Kūfans took it as a contraction of **يا الله اما يحير** (Baīd on III, 25), but their theory is ridiculed by Ibn Ya‘ish, I, 181. As a vocative it is said to be of the same class as **هلم** *come along*. al Khafajī, 20, however, recognizes it as a foreign word.

It is possible, as Margolouth notes (*ERE*, VI, 248), that it is the Heb **אלהים** which had become known to the Arabs through their contacts with Jewish tribes⁴

إِلْيَاسُ (*Ilyās*)

VI, 85, XXXVII, 123, 130

Eljah

¹ Derenbourg in *JA* VIII^e ser. xx 157 ff. wants to find the word in the **𐤁𐤃𐤁𐤁𐤁** of a Minaean inscription but this is usually taken as a reference to a tribal god **الهان** vide Halévy *ibid* p 325 326

² Rhodokanakis Die Inschriften an der Mauer von Kohlan Timna in *SBAW* Wien 1924

³ Margolouth *ERE*, VI 248

⁴ There is to be considered however the Phon **אלם** = godhead (see references in Harris *Glossary* p 77) which is evidence of a Semitic form with final *m*. Cf Nielsen in *HAA* I 221, n 2

In xxxvii, 130, for the sake of rhyme, the form is ¹إِيَّاسِيْن

From al Jawālīqī, *Mu'arrab*, 8, we learn that the philologists early recognized it as foreign, and it is given as such by as Suyūṭī, *Muzḥir*, 1, 138, as Sijistānī, 51, *LA*, vii, 303. The Heb forms are אִיָּאִי and אִיָּאִי, so it is obvious that the Arabic form must have been derived from a Christian source, as even Hirschfeld, *Beiträge*, 56, recognizes ² The Gk 'Ηλίας or 'Ηλείας gives us the final *s*, but this also appears in Syr ܐܠܝܣܐ beside the more usual ܐܠܝܐ (PSm, 203), and in the Eth አላያስ

The name was no uncommon one among Oriental Christians before Islam, and 'Ηλίας occurs not infrequently in the Inscriptions ³ We also find an الياس in the genealogy of the poet 'Adī b Zaid given in *Aghānī*, ii, 18 ⁴ The likelihood is thus that it entered Arabic through the Syriac

أَيْسَعُ (*Al Yasa'*)

vi, 86, xxxviii, 48

Elisha

The word is usually treated as though it were يسع and the ال the definite article,⁵ and then derived from يسع or وسع Tab, on vi, 86, argues against this view, and in the Lexicons (e g al Jawharī *sub voc*, *LA*, x, 296), and in al Jawālīqī, 134 (cf al Khafājī, 215), it is given as a foreign borrowing, a fact which is also indicated by the variant spelling أَيْسَعُ (*LA*, x, 296)

¹ Geiger 190 Mingana *Syriac Influence* 83 Grimme *ZA* xxvi 167 would see S Arabian influence in the production of this longer form but it is difficult to see much point to his suggestion

² So Sprenger *Leben* ii 335 Rudolph *Abhängigkeit* 47 Horovitz *JPN* 171

³ Lebas Waddington Nos 2159 2160 2299 etc

⁴ Ibn Duraid 20 would take this as a genuine Arabic word from شيس with which Horovitz *KU* 99 is inclined to agree In *LA* vii 303 however where we find this same genealogy we are expressly told ولد سميت به العرب

⁵ Cf Goldziher *ZDMG* xxiv 208 n

The Heb אֶרֶץ is near enough to the Arabic to make a direct borrowing possible, but the probability is that it came from a Christian source (Horovitz, *KU*, 152) The Gk forms are 'Ελίσα, 'Ελισάιε, and 'Ελισάιος, the Syr ܐܠܝܫܐ, and the Eth አለሳዕ, the probabilities being in favour of a Syriac origin

أُمَّة (Umma)

Of frequent occurrence, e g ii, 122, 128, iii, 106, etc

People, race

Apparently a borrowing from the Jews¹ Heb אֹמֶה is a *tribe*, or *people*, and the אֹמֶה of the Rabbinic writings was widely used As the word is apparently not a native Semitic word at all, but Akk *ummatu*, Heb אֹמֶה, Aram אֹמֶה, אֹמֶה, and Syr ܐܡܬܐ, seem all to have been borrowed from the Sumerian,² we cannot deny the possibility, that the Ar أُمَّة is a primitive borrowing from the same source In any case it was an ancient borrowing, and if we can depend upon a reading בכש האמה, "at the people's cost" in a Safaite inscription,³ we have evidence of its early use in N Arabia

أَمْر (Amr)

xvi, 2, xvii, 87, xxxii, 4, xl, 15, xlii, 52, lxv, 12, xcvi, 4
Revelation

In the two senses (i) *command* or *decree*, (ii) *matter*, *affair*, it is a genuine Arabic word, and commonly used in the Qur'an

In its use in connection with the Qur'ānic doctrine of revelation, however, it would seem to represent the Aram מִימְרָא (Rudolph, *Abhängigkeit*, 41, Horovitz, *JPN*, 188, Fischer, *Glossar*, Nachtrag to 8b, Ahrens, *Christliches*, 26, *Muhammad*, 134) The whole conception seems to have been strongly influenced by the Christian Logos doctrine,⁴ though the word would seem to have arisen from the Targumic use of מִימְרָא

¹ Horovitz *KU* 52 *JPN* 190

² Zimmern *Akkad fremdw* 46 Pedersen *Israel*, 505

³ See Horovitz *KU* 52

⁴ Grimme *System* 50 ff

أَمشَاح (Amsḥāḡ)

lxxvi, 2

Plu of مَشِيج, mingled

In this passage, "we created man from a mingled clot," it occurs as almost a technical physiological term. The Muslim savants take it as a normal formation from the verb مَشَحَ, but this may be a denominative from the noun.¹ Zimmermann, *Akkad Fremdw*, 40, suggests an ultimate origin in the Akk *munziqu*—clear wine. This was borrowed on the one hand into Heb מִזְגָּה (beside מִסְחָה, cf Barth, *ES*, 33, 51), Aram מִזְגָּה, Syr مَشِيج, and on the other into Egyptian *mtk*, Coptic ⲙⲟⲩⲩⲥ.

From the Syr مَشِيج arose the Arabic مَرَّاح, and apparently مَشَّاح was a parallel form borrowed at an early period, from which the other forms have developed.

آمَنَ (Amana)

Of very frequent occurrence

To believe

The primitive verb آمَنَ with its derivatives is pure Arabic. Form IV, however, آمَنَ with its derivatives, مُؤْمِنٌ, a believer, and إِيْمَانٌ, believing, faith, is a technical religious term which seems to have been borrowed from the older faiths, and intended to represent the Aram מִיָּמַן, Syr مِصْلَح, Eth ኢምን.² The word actually borrowed would seem to have been the participle مُؤْمِنٌ from Eth ማእምን.³

¹ As in the case of مَرَّاح cf Fraenkel *Fremdw* 172

² These Aram forms themselves of course, are borrowed from the Heb מִיָּמַן (but see Lagarde *Übersicht* 121)

³ See Horowitz *KU*, 55 *JPN*, 191 Fischer *Glossar Neue Nachlasse* to 9a

In lix, 23, **مُؤْمِنٌ** meaning *faithful*,¹ and in lix, 9, **إِيمَانٌ** meaning *certainty*, may be genuine Arabic (see Fischer, *Glossar*, 9a)

إِنْجِيلٌ (*Injīl*)

iii, 2, 43, 58, v, 50, 51, 70, 72, 110, vii, 156, ix, 112, xlviii, 29, lvi, 27

Gospel

It is used always of the Christian revelation, is particularly associated with Jesus, and occurs only in Madinan passages²

Some of the early authorities tried to find an Arabic origin for it, making it a form **إِنْعِيلٌ** from **نَحْلٌ**, but this theory is rejected with some contempt by the commentators Zam and Baiḍ both on general grounds, and because of al Hasan's reading **أَنْجِيلٌ**, which clearly is not an Arabic form. So also the Lexicons *LA*, xiv, 171, *TA*, viii, 128, and al Jawahiri, 17 (al Khafaji, 11), give it as a foreign word derived from either Hebrew or Syriac (cf Ibn al Athīr, *Nihāya*, iv, 136)

Obviously it is the Gk *εὐαγγέλιον*, and both Marracci³ and Fraenkel⁴ have thought that it came directly into Arabic from the Greek. The probabilities, however, are that it came into Arabic through one of the other Semitic tongues. The Hebrew origin suggested by some is too remote. It is true that in the Talmud we find **עוֹן גִּלְיוֹן** for **אוֹנוֹנְלִיִּין**,⁵ but this is merely a transcription of **אֹנְיִלְיִם**, and the **הַגִּלְיוֹנִים וְסִפְרֵי הַמִּינִים** "the Gilyonim and books of the Minim", merely reproduces the Syr **ܐܢܝܠܝܝܡ**. The suggestion of a Syr source is much more hopeful. It is true that **ܐܢܝܠܝܝܡ** is only a transliteration of the Gk *εὐαγγέλιον*, but it was as commonly used as the pure Syr **ܐܘܥܠܝܢܐ**, and may be assumed to have been in common use among the Christians with whom Muhammad may have been in contact. Noldeke has pointed out, however, that

¹ With which may be compared the Sab **ܝܚܝܬܐ** *faithful*. Cf Hommel *Sūdara bische Chrest* 121. Rossini *Glossarium* 106.

² vii 156 is perhaps an exception but though the Sūra is given as late Meccan this verse seems to be Madinan.

³ *Prodromus* i 5 corrupta Graeca voce

⁴ *Vocab* 24

⁵ Krauss *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud* ii 21

the Manichaean forms **اڪليون** of Persian origin,¹ and *anglion* of Turkish origin,² still have the Gk *-ιον* ending, and had the Arabic, like these, been derived from the Syr we might have expected it also to preserve the final **ن** The shortened form, he points out (*Neue Beiträge*, 47), is to be found in the Eth **𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤁**, where the long vowel is almost conclusive evidence of the Arabic word having come from Abyssinia³ Grimme, *ZA*, xxvi, 164, suggests that it may have entered Arabic from the Sabaeen, but we have no inscriptional evidence to support this It is possible that the word was current in this form in pre Islamic days, though as Horovitz, *KU*, 71, points out, there is some doubt of the authenticity of the verses in which it is found⁴

آيَة (Āya)

Of very frequent occurrence Cf ii, 37, iii, 9, xxxvi, 33

A sign

Later it comes to mean a *verse* of the Qur'ān, and then a *verse* of a book, but it is doubtful whether it ever means anything more than *sign* in the Qur'ān, though as Muhammad comes to refer to his preaching as a *sign*, the word tends to the later meaning, as e g in iii, 5, etc It is noteworthy that in spite of the frequency of its occurrence in the Qur'ān it occurs very seldom in the early Meccan passages⁵

The struggles of the early Muslim philologists to explain the word are interestingly set forth in *LA*, xviii, 66 ff The word has no root in Arabic, and is obviously, as von Kremer noted,⁶ a borrowing from Syr or Aram The Heb **אוֹת** (cf Phon **אָא**), from a verb **אָוה**, to *sign* or *mark*, was used quite generally, for signs of the weather (Gen i, 14, ix, 12), for a military ensign (Numb ii, 2), for a memorial sign

¹ Vullers *Lex* i 136 Salemann *Manichaerische Studien* i 50 BQ 88 which latter knows that it is the name of the book of Jesus and the book of Mani—**𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭩𐭥𐭩** It is curious that Bagh on iii 2 gives **𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭩𐭥𐭩** as an attempt to represent the Syriac original

² In the phrase *uluy anglion butig* cf Le Coq *SBAW* Berlin 1909 p 1204

³ Cf Fischer *Islamica* i 372 n 5

⁴ Cf Cheikho *Nasraniya* 185

⁵ Not more than nine times in Suras classed by Noldeke as early Meccan though many passages in these are certainly to be placed much later and one may doubt whether the word occurs at all in really early passages

⁶ *Ideen* 226 n see also Sprenger, *Leben*, ii 419 n, Cheikho, *Nasraniya* 181 and Margoliouth, *ERE* x, 539

(Josh iv, 6), and also in a technical religious sense both for the miracles which attest the Divine presence (Ex viii, 19, Deut iv, 34, Ps lxxviii, 43), and for the signs or omens which accompany and testify to the work of the Prophets (1 Sam x, 7, 9, Ex iii, 12) In the Rabbinic writings אֶלֶף is similarly used, though it there acquires the meaning of a letter of the alphabet, which meaning, indeed, is the only one the Lexicons know for the Aram אֶלֶף¹

While it is not impossible that the Arabs may have got the word from the Jews, it is more probable that it came to them from the Syriac speaking Christians² The Syr ܐܠܦ, while being used precisely as the Heb אֶלֶף, and translating σημείον both in the LXX and N T, is also used in the sense of *argumentum, documentum* (P^Sm, 413), and thus approaches even more closely than אֶלֶף the Qur'ānic use of the word

The word occurs in the old poetry, e g in Imrū'ul Qais, lxv, 1 (Ahlwardt, *Divans*, 160), and so was in use before the time of Muhammad

أَيُّوبُ (*Ayyūb*)

iv, 161, vi, 84, xxi, 83, xxxviii, 40

Job

It is the Biblical Job, and the word was recognized as foreign, e g al Jawalīqī, *Mu'arrab*, 8 The exegetes take him to be a Greek, e g

Zam on xxi, 83—رُؤْيُ and ath Tha'labī, *Qisas*, 106—رُؤْيُ

The name would seem to have come into Arabic through a Christian channel, as even Hirschfeld, *Beiträge*, 56, admits The Heb אֵיּוֹב appears in Gk (LXX) as Ἰώβ, and Syr as ܐܝܘܒ, which latter is obviously the origin of the Arabic form³ The name appears to have been used in Arabia in the pre Islamic period Hess would interpret the אֵיּוֹב of an inscription copied by Huber (No 521, l, 48), as Ayyūb⁴, there is

¹ In Biblical Aramaic however, אֶלֶף means a *sign* wrought by God cf Dan iii 33

² Mingana *Syriac Influence* 86 Note also the Mand אֶלֶף = *sign*

³ Rudolph *Abhängigkeit* 47

⁴ Hess, *Die Entzifferung der thamudischen Inschriften* (1911), p 15 No 77 Littmann, *Entzifferung*, 15 and see Halévy in *JA* ser vii vol x, p 332

an **أَبُو** in the genealogy of 'Adī b Zaid given in *Aghānī*, II, 18, and another Christian of this name is mentioned by an Nābigha ¹

بَابُ (*Bāb*)

Occurs some twenty seven times, e g II, 55, IV, 153

A door or gate

Fraenkel, *Fremdw*, 14, noted that it was an early loan word, and suggested that it came from the Aram **ܒܒܐ** which is in very common use in the Rabbinic writings D H Muller, however (*WZKM*, I, 23), on the ground that **ܒܒܐ** occurs very rarely in Syr and that the root is entirely lacking in Heb, Eth, and Sab, suggested that it was an early borrowing from Mesopotamia (cf Zimmermann, *Akkad Fremdw*, 30), and may have come directly into Arabic It occurs commonly in the old poetry, which confirms the theory of early borrowing, and it is noteworthy that from some Mesopotamian source it passed into Middle Persian (*Frahang*, Glossary, p 103, Herzfeld, *Parkuh*, Glossary, 151)

بَابِلُ (*Bābil*)

II, 96

Babylon

This sole occurrence of the word is in connection with the story of Hārūt and Mārūt who teach men magic It is a diptote in the Qur'ān but *LA*, XIII, 43, takes this to be not because it is a foreign name, but a fem name of more than three radicals (cf Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 447) ²

It is, of course, from the Akk *Bab ilu* (Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 212), either through the Syr **ܒܒܐܝܠ** or the Heb **בָּבֶל** The city was well known in Arabia in the pre Islamic period, and the name occurs in the old poetry, e g Mufaḍḍahyāt (ed Lyall, p 133, l 13), and al-A'shā (Geyer, *Zwei Gedichte*, I, 58 = *Diwān*, IV, 5), and Halévy would find the name in a Safaite inscription ³ Horovitz, *KU*, 101, notes that Babylon was well known as a centre for the teaching of

¹ Ahlwardt, *Divans* p 4 cf Horovitz, *KU* 100 *JPN* 158

² Some however, recognized it as a foreign name cf Abū Ḥayyan *Baḥr* I 319

³ *JA* sér VII vol X, p 380

magic, a fact which we would also gather from the use of the word *Bavil* in the Manichaean Uigur fragments from Idikut Schahrī¹

بَارَكَا (Bāraka)

vii, 52, 133, xvii, 1, xxi, 71, 81, etc

To bless

With this should be taken the forms رَكَاتٌ (vii, 94 , xi, 50, 76),

and مُسَارِكٌ (III, 90 , VI, 92, 156, etc)

The primitive verb **נָכַח**, which is not used in the Qur'an, means to *kneel*, used specially of the camel, so that **أَنَرَكَ** is the technical word for making a camel kneel. In this primitive sense it is common Semitic, so we find Heb **נִכְרַח לְפָנֵי יְהוָה** "let us kneel before Jehovah", Syr **ܠܥܝܢܝܬܝܢܐ ܚܝܬܐ** "he knelt upon his knees", Eth **ወሐሰተብረከ፡ ቀድሜ** "and they bowed the knee before him". It was in the N Semitic area, however, that the root seems to have developed the sense of to *bless*, and from thence it passed to the S Semitic area. Thus we have Heb **בָּרַךְ**, and Phon **ברך** to *bless*, Aram **ܒܪܚ** to *bless* or *praise*, Syr **ܚܝܬܐ** to *bless* or *praise*, and in Palm such phrases as **ܒܪܝܚ ܫܡܝܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ** (de Vogue, No 94) "blessed be his name for evermore", and **ܝܒܪܚ** (*ibid*, No 144) "may he bless". From this N Semitic sense we find derived the Sab **ܠܚܚ** (Rossini, *Glossarium*, 118), Eth **ሠረዘ** to *bless*, *celebrate the praises of*, and Ar **بارك** as above. Note also the formations—Heb **בִּרְכָה**, Aram **ܒܪܟܐ**, Syr **ܚܝܬܐ**, which also were taken over into S Semitic, e.g. Eth **ሠረዘ**, Ar **بارك**.

بَرَاءَ (Bara'a)

lvii, 22

To create

¹ Ed Le Coq *SBAW* Berlin 1908 pp 400 401 cf also Salemann *Manichaäische Studien* 1, 58

Note also **نَارِيّ** *creator* used of Allāh in ii, 51, lix, 24, and **نَرِيَّة** *creation* in xcvi, 5, 6. It will be noticed that the word is only used in very late Madīnan passages, the Meccan words being **فطر**, **خالق** **حلق** and **فاطر**.

The Arabic root **نَرَى** is *to be freed from a defect*, i.e. *to be sound* or *healthy* (cf Heb **בריא**), and in a moral sense *to be pure*. In this sense it is used not infrequently in the Qur'ān, cf vi, 19. In the sense of *create*, however, it is obviously borrowed from the older religions, for this is a characteristic N^W Semitic development¹. Akk *barū* *to make or create*. Heb **בָּרָא** *to shape or create*. Aram **בָּרָא**, Syr **ܒܪܐ** *to create*, of which the Arabic equivalent is **نَرَى**, used in the older language for fashioning an arrow or cutting a pen². Similarly **نَرِيَّة** is not an Arabic development (as is evident from the difficulties the philologists had with it, cf *LA*, i, 22), but was also taken over from the older religions, cf Heb **בְּרִיאָה** *a thing created*. Aram **בְּרִיאָה** and **בֹּרִיא**, **בְּרִיָּה**. So **نَارِيّ** is from the Aram **בֹּרִיא**, **בְּרִיָּה**, Syr **ܒܪܐ**, **ܒܪܝܐ**, meaning *Creator*, and used particularly of God (Lidzbarski, *SBAW*, Berlin, 1916, p. 1218 n.)³.

Macdonald, *EI*, i, 303, writing of **نَارِيّ** suggests that the borrowing was from the Heb,⁴ but the correspondences are much closer with the Aram (Noldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, 49), and especially with the Syriac (Mingana, *Syriac Influence*, 88), so that the probabilities are in favour of its having been taken from the Christians of the North.

¹ Schwally *ZDMG* lxxi 201

² And cf the S. Arabian **𐩦𐩣𐩪** *to found or build a temple* cf *ZDMG* xxxvii 413 Rossini, *Glossarium* 117. In Phon **בָּרָא** is a sculptor cf Harris *Glossary* 91.

³ Massignon *Lexique technique* 52 however considers it as an Arabic word specialized in this meaning under Aramaic influence.

⁴ So Ahrens *ZDMG* lxxxiv 20

زَرْح (Barzakh)

xxiii, 102, xxv, 55, lv, 20

A barrier or partition

In xxv, 55, and lv, 20, it is the barrier between the two seas (بحرين) where the reference is probably to some cosmological myth. In xxiii 102, it is used in an eschatological passage, and the exegetes do not know what the reference is, though as a glance at Tabari's Commentary will show, they were fertile in guesses.

That the word is not Arabic seems clear from the Lexicons, which venture no suggestions as to its verbal root, are unable to quote any examples of the use of the word from the old poetry, and obviously seek to interpret it from the material of the Qur'ān itself.

Addai Sher, 19, sought to explain it from the Pers **پرړك** *weeping* or *crying*, but this has little in its favour, and in any case suits only xxiii, 102. Vollers, ZDMG, I, 646, makes the much more plausible suggestion that **زَرْح** is a by-form of **فرسح** *parasang* from the Phlv **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭭𐭩** *frasang*, Mod Pers **فرسك**, which preserves its form fairly well in Gk *παρασάγγης*, but becomes Aram **פרסא** or **פרסה**¹, Syr **ܦܪܫܐ** whence the Ar **فرسح**. The Phlv **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭭𐭩𐭥𐭭𐭩** *frasangan* of PPGI, 116, means a measure of land and of roads,² and could thus fit the sense *barrier* in all three passages.

زُهْرَان (Burhān)

ii, 105, iv, 174, xii, 24, xxi, 24, xxiii, 117, xxvii, 65, xxviii, 32, 75

An evident proof

In all the passages save xii, 24, and xxviii, 32, it is used in the sense of a proof or demonstration of the truth of one's religious position. In these two cases, one from the story of Joseph and the other from that of Moses, the word refers to an evident miraculous sign from

¹ Levy *Wörterbuch* iv 125. Telegdi in *JA* ccxxvi (1935) p 252

² See Horn *Grundriss*, 182. Nyberg *Glossar* 73

God for the demonstration of His presence and power to him who beheld it. It is thus clearly used in the Qur'ān as a technical religious term¹

It is generally taken as a form **فعلان** from **بره**, Form IV of which is said to mean *to prove*, but the straits to which the philologists are put to explain the word (cf Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 44, *LA*, xvii, 369), show us that we are dealing with a foreign word. Sprenger, *Leben*, i, 108 had noted this,² but he makes no attempt to discover its origin.

Addai Sher, 21, suggested that it is from the Pers **پروهان** meaning *clearly manifest*, or *well known* (cf Vullers, *Ler*, i, 352), but this is somewhat remote. The origin clearly is, as Noldeke has shown (*Neue Beiträge*, 58),³ in the Eth **ἡርገገ**, a common Abyssinian word,⁴ being found also in Amharic, Tigre, and Tigrīña, meaning *light, illumination*, from a root **ἡርገ** cognate with Heb **היר**, Ar **هر**. It seems to have this original sense in iv, 174, xii, 24, and the sense of *proof* or *demonstration* is easily derived from this.

بُرُوج (*Burūj*)

iv, 80, xv, 16, xxv, 62, lxxxv 1

Towers

The original meaning occurs in iv, 80, but in the other passages it means the signs of the Zodiac, according to the general consensus of the Commentators, cf as Sijistānī, 63

The philologists took the word to be from **نَرَح** *to appear* (cf Baiḍ

on iv, 80, *LA*, iii, 33), but there can be little doubt that **بُرُوج** represents the Gk **πύργος** (Lat *burgus*), used of the towers on a city wall, as e.g. in Homer *Od*, vi, 262—**πόλιος ἦν περὶ πύργος ὑψηλός**. The Lat *burgus* (see Guidi, *Della Sede*, 579) is apparently the source

¹ Ahrens *Christliches* 22 makes a distinction between xii 24 iv 147 xxiii 117 where it means Licht Erleuchtung and the other passages where it means Beweis

² Also Massignon *Lexique technique* 52

³ Also *ibid* p 25

⁴ It is in frequent use even in the oldest monuments of the language

of the Syr ܠܚܥܝܠ¹ a *turret*, and perhaps of the Rabbinic בורגין, בורגין a *resting place* or *station* for travellers² From this sense of *stations* for travellers it is an easy transition to *stations* of the heavenly bodies, i.e. the Zodiac Syr ܠܚܥܝܠ is indeed used for the Zodiac (*P*Sm, 475), but this is late and probably under the influence of Arabic usage

It is possible that the word occurs in the meaning of *tower* in a S Arabian inscription (D H Muller in *ZDMG*, xxx, 688), but the reading is not certain³ Ibn Duraid, 229, also mentions it as occurring as a personal name in the pre Islamic period The probabilities are that it was a military word introduced by the Romans into Syria and N Arabia,⁴ whence it passed into the Aramaic dialects⁵ and thence to Arabia It would have been borrowed in the sing form نُرْح from which an Arabic plural was then formed

ܬܫܪܐ (Bashshara)

Of frequent occurrence, cf 11, 23, 111, 20, 14, 137, etc

To announce good news

The primitive verb ܬܫܪܐ to *peel off bark*, then to *remove the surface* of a thing, i.e. to *smooth*, is not found in the Qur'an, though it occurs in the old literature From this we find ܬܫܪܐ *skin* and thence *flesh*, as Syr ܬܫܪܐ, Heb בשר⁶, Akk bīšru, *blood relation*, whence it is an easy transition to the meaning *man*, cf Heb בשר, Syr ܬܫܪܐ (plu ܬܫܪܐ = ἀνθρώποι) ܬܫܪܐ in this sense occurs frequently in the Qur'an⁷ and Ahrens, *Christliches*, 38, thinks it is of Aramaic origin

¹ So Fraenkel *Fremdw* 235 against Freytag and Rodiger who claim that it is a direct borrowing from πυργος

² But see the discussion in Krauss *Griechische Lehnwörter* 11 143

³ Muller in *WZKM* 1 28

⁴ Vollers in *ZDMG* 11, 312

⁵ The Arm ܬܫܪܐ came probably through the Aramaic also Cf Hubschmann *Arm Gramm* 1 393 Brockelmann in *ZDMG* xlvii 2

⁶ So Sab ܬܫܪܐ and Fth ܬܫܪܐ but these apparently developed late under Jewish or Christian influence

⁷ And note ܬܫܪܐ to go in unto a wife (11 183 only) with Heb בשר *membrum virile* Syr ܬܫܪܐ per euphemismum de pudendis viri et foeminae

The wider use of the root in the Qur'an, however, is in the sense of *to announce good tidings*. Thus we have the verb **نَشَرَ** as above, **نُشْرَى** *good news* (ii, 91, iii, 122, viii, 10, etc), **شِير** (v, 22, vii, 188, etc), and **نُشْرُ** (vii, 55, xxv, 50, etc), *the bringer of good tidings* also **مَشَرَّ** (ii, 209, etc) with much the same meaning, **أَشَرَ** (xli, 30) *to receive pleasure from good tidings* and **مُسْتَشِرٌ** (lxxx, 39) *rejoicing*. This use, however, seems not to be original in Arabic but derived from the older religions. Thus Akk *bussuru*, is *to bear a joyful message*. Heb **בשר** both *to bear good tidings* and *to gladden with good tidings*. **התבשר** *to receive good tidings* ¹

The S Semitic use of the word seems to be entirely under the influence of this Jewish usage. In Eth the various forms **በሰረ** *to bring a joyful message*, **አብሰረ** *to bring good tidings*, **ተበሰረ** *to be announced*, **በሰረት** *good news*, **አብሰረ** *one who announces good tidings*, are all late and doubtless under the influence of the Bible. So the S Arabian **نظن** *to bring tidings* and **نظن** *tidings* (cf ZDMG, xxx, 672, WZKM (1896), p 290, Rossini, *Glossarium*, 119), are to be considered of the same origin, especially when we remember that the use of **نظن** is in the *Rahmān* inscription. The Syr **ܢܫܪ** has suffered metathesis, but in the Christian Palestinian dialect we find **ܢܫܪ** *to preach*, used just as **نَشَرَ** in iii, 20, ix, 34, etc, and so **ܢܫܪܐ** =

εὐαγγέλιον, where again the influence is undoubtedly Jewish.

The probabilities are that the word was an early borrowing and taken direct from the Jews, though in the sense of *to preach* the influence was probably Syriac ²

بَطَلَ (*Batala*)

Occurs some thirty six times in various forms

To be in vain, false

¹ Also **בשר** *tidings* = Ar **سار** and **سرى** which latter however, is not Quranic. Cf also now the Ras Shamra **בשר** *to bring good news*

² As probably the Phlv *basariā* PPGI, 95

The passages in which it occurs are relatively late, and it is clearly a technical religious term for the nothingness, vanity, and falseness of that which is opposed to God's **حَوْ**. In particular it is used of idols, as in **xlvi**, 74, **xxix**, 52, 67, etc., where it forcibly reminds us of the Hebrew use of **אֱלִילִים** and the **τὰ μάταια** of **Acts xiv**, 15

Now as a matter of fact the Peshitta translates **τὰ μάταια** by **ܠܐܝܠܐ**, and, as Ahrens, *Christliches*, 38, points out, we seem to have here the origin of the Qur'anic **باطل**, whence probably the other forms were derived. Cf. the Eth **ἄνω** *vanum inanem, irritum*

بعل (*Ba'ḷ*)

xxxvii, 125

Baal

The word occurs in the Elijah story and as a proper name undoubtedly came to Muhammad from the same source as his **الْيَاس**

As this would seem to be from the *Syr* we may conclude that **بعل** is from the *Syr* **ܒܥܠ**.¹ On the question of the word in general the authorities differ. Robertson Smith² argued that the word was a loan word in Arabia, but Noldeke (*ZDMG*, xl, 174), and Wellhausen (*Reste*, 146), claim that it is indigenous. It is worthy of note that as Suyūṭī, *Itq*, 310, states that **بعل** meant **رب** in the dialects of Yemen and of *Azd*, and as such we find it in the S. Arabian inscriptions, e.g. Glaser, 1076, 2, **XO)X 10Π** "Lord of Ter'at" (see further Rossini, *Glossarium*, 116, *RES*, i, Nos 184, 185). In any case from the Nabataean and N. Arabian inscriptions³ we learn that the word was known in this sense in Arabia long before Muhammad's time.⁴ Horovitz, *KU*, 101, thinks it came from Eth (cf. Ahrens, *Christliches*, 38)

¹ So Horovitz *KU* 101 and see Rudolph *Abhängigkeit* 47 n

² *Religion of the Semites* (2 ed.) 100 ff. *Kinship* 210

³ See Cook *Glossary* 32. Lidzbarski *Handbuch* 240 241. Ryckmans *Noms propres* 1 8 54. Nielsen in *HAA* 1 241

⁴ In the Qur'an itself (xi 75) it occurs in the sense of *husband*

بَعِيرٌ (Ba'īr)

xii, 65, 72

A full grown camel

It occurs only in the Joseph story, and Dvořák, *Fremdw*, 18, is doubtless right in thinking that its use here is due to Muhammad's sources. In the Joseph story of Gen. xlv, 17, the word used is בַּעִיר, and in the Syr. ܒܥܝܪ, which means originally *cattle* in general, and then any beast of burden. It is easy to see how the word was specialized in Arabic to mean *camel* (Guidi, *Della Sede*, 583, Rossini, *Glossarium*, 116, Hommel in *HAA*, i, 82 n), the usual beast of burden in that country, and as such it occurs in the old poetry. There seems no reason to doubt the conclusion of Dvořák, *Fremdw*, 46 (cf. Horovitz, *JPN*, 192), that Muhammad's informant, hearing the word in the story as he got it from a Jewish or Christian source, passed the word on as though it had its specialized Arabic meaning of *camel*.

بَغَالٌ (Bighāl)

xvi, 8

Mules Plural of بَغْلٌ

al Khafājī, 44, shows that some of the Muslim philologists suspected that it was non Arabic. The root is clearly not Arabic, and Hommel, *Saugethiere*, 113, noted it as a borrowing from Abyssinia, where the mule was as characteristic an animal as the camel is in Arabia. Fraenkel, *Fremdw*, 110, accepts this derivation, and Noldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, 58, has established it. The word is common to all the Abyssinian dialects—cf. Eth. and Tigre ብቃል, Amharic ብቃል and ብቃሉ, Tigrina ብቃሉ. The ع for ق is not an isolated phenomenon, as Hommel illustrates

بَلَدٌ (Balad)

ii, 120, iii, 196, vii, 55, 56, etc. Also بَلَدٌ—xxv, 51, xxvii, 93,

xxxiv, 14, etc

Country, region, territory

The verb **دَلَّ** in the sense of *to dwell in a region* is denominative, and Noldeke recognized that **دَلَّ** in the sense of a “place where one dwells” was a Semitic borrowing from the Lat *palatrum* Gk *παλατιον* This has been accepted by Fraenkel, *Fremdw*, 28, and Vollers, *ZDMG* li, 312, and may be traced back to the military occupation of N Arabia

بَنَّى (Bannā')

xxxviii, 36

A builder

The verb **بَنَى** *to build* occurs in the Qur'ān along with certain formations therefrom, e g **سَافٍ** *ceiled roof*, and **مَنْسِي**, and it would seem on the surface that **سَافٍ** is another such formation Noldeke, *Mand Gramm*, 120, n, however, has a suggestion that it is a borrowing from Aramaic, whence on the other hand it passed into Middle Persian (cf Herzfeld, *Parkuh*, Glossary, p 156) Fraenkel, *Fremdw*, 255, is doubtful, but thinks that if it is a loan-word it comes from the Jewish **בִּנְיָא** rather than from the Syr **ܒܢܝܐ** Zimmern, *Akkad Fremdw*, 26, considers them all as borrowed from Akk *banū—to build*, though the S Arabian **بَنَى** and its derivatives might suggest that the root developed independently in S Semitic (Rossini, *Glossarium*, 115)

بُنْيَانٌ (Bunyān)

ix, 110, 111, xvi, 28, xviii, 20, xxxvii, 95, lxi, 4

A building or construction

Again it would seem, on the surface, that this word also is from **بَنَى** *to build* Sprenger, *Leben*, i, 108, has noted that words of this form are un Arabic, e g **قُرْبَان**, **فُرْقَان**, **سُلْطَان**, **سَدْحَان**, etc, and lead us to look for an Aram origin Fraenkel, *Fremdw*, 27, points

these food regulations were formed under Jewish influence,¹ so that it is significant that the word in the Jewish legislation (Lev xi) is בהמה

The root of the word is probably a form בהם which we find in

Eth אנום to be dumb, connected with Ar استهم and استهم, both of which refer to incoherence or ambiguity of speech. The Lexicons, however, are troubled about the word (cf *LA*, xiv, 323), and there is little doubt that it was a direct borrowing from the Jewish בהמה.²

نور (Būr)

xxv, 19, xlviii, 12

Ignorant

The phrase قوم نور in these two passages was a complete puzzle

to the Commentators. As we find a verb نَار to perish in xxxv, 11, 26,

and the noun نوار in xiv, 33, most of the early authorities endeavoured

to explain نور from this and make it mean *destruction*, cf Tab, Zam,

Baird, and Bagh on the verses. There was some philological difficulty over this, however, which as Suyūti, *Itq*, 311, endeavours to avoid by

claiming that it is a dialectal form, meaning هلاك in the dialect of 'Umān, a theory which seems also to have been held by al-Akhfash (*LA*, v, 153)

Hirschfeld, *Beiträge*, 40, suggests that it is the Aram בור and like ארמי (vii, 156, 158, etc), is a translation of עם הארץ.³ In the Rabbinic writings בור means a boorish, ignorant, and uncultured

¹ Rudolph *Abhängigkeit* 61 Horovitz *JPN* 193

² Addai Sher 30 suggests that it is from the Pers بهمان which is absurd

³ Im Munde der Juden war עם הארץ zweifellos ausserordentlich geläufig nicht minder häufig wohl auch das aram בור. Die Seltenheit des Ausdrucks im Koran trotz zahlreicher Gelegenheit ihn zu brauchen zeigt aber dass derselbe Muhammad nicht sehr geläufig geworden ist er wendet oft das dasselbe besagende Ummi an, welches wie Geiger bereits gefunden hat die eigentliche arabische Übertragung von Am ha arez darstellt cf Geiger 28

person, e g Yoma, 37a, **המהלך כנגד רבו הרי זה בוב** "he who walks ahead of his teacher is a boor", or Pirqe Aboth, II, 6—**אין בור ירא חטא** "No boorish fellow fears sin", and corresponds with the Aram **בורא** used, e g, in the Targums on Prov XII, 1, or Lev Rabba, § 18, where the uncultured are contrasted with the learned Horovitz, *JPN*, 193, also holds to a Jewish origin

Precisely similar in meaning, however, is the Syr **ܚܒܝܢ**, as when Paul in 2 Cor XI, 6, says **ܚܒܝܢ ܐܢܝ ܚܒܝܢܐ**, "uncultured am I in speech (but not in knowledge)"—*ἡδιώτης τῷ λόγῳ*, referring to his difficulties with the Greek tongue So Ephraem uses **ܚܒܝܢ ܚܒܝܢܐ**, and Mingana, *Syriac Influence*, 93, thinks that the Qur'ānic **حور** is of Syr[✓] rather than Jewish[✓] origin It is really impossible to decide The word occurs in the old poetry, e g Hassān (ed Hirschfeld, xcvi, 2), and a verse in *LA*, v, 153, so it was apparently an early borrowing

بَيْعَة (*Biya'*)

xxii, 41

Plu of **بَيْعَة** a place of worship

It was early recognized as a foreign word (as Suyūṭi, *Itq*, 320, *Mutaw*, 46), and is said by al-Jawālīqī, *Mu'arrab*, 35, to be a borrowing from Persian One is at a loss to know why al-Jawālīqī should think it was Persian, when it is so obviously the[✓]Syr **ܚܒܝܢ**,¹ unless perhaps we may suggest that he knew of Syrian churches in Persian territory called by this name and jumped to the conclusion that it was a Persian

word Syr **ܚܒܝܢ** is originally an *egg* (cf Ar **بيض**, Heb **בִּיצָה**, Aram **בִּיצָה**), and then was used metaphorically for the top of a rounded arch—**ܚܒܝܢ ܚܒܝܢܐ**, and so for the domed buildings used for worship

The word was well known in pre-Islamic times, being found in the S Arabian inscriptions,² and occurring not infrequently in the old

¹ This has been generally recognized cf Sprenger *Leben* III, 310 n 1 Fraenkel *Vocab* 24 Fremdw 274 Rudolph *Abhangigkeit* 7 Cheikho *Nasranīya* 201

² **𐩧𐩣𐩪** in the Abraha inscription, *CIS*, IV, No 541, ll 66 and 117

poetry (e g *Diwan Hudh*, ed Kosegarten, 3, l 5), and may be assumed to have entered Arabic from the Mesopotamian area It is interesting that the traditional exegesis of the Qur'ān seems to favour the word in xxii, 41, being referred to معد الصارى, though some thought it meant كنيسة اليهود, cf Zam, Baiḍ, Tab, on the passage, and *TA*, v, 285, as Sijistānī, 65

تَابَ (Tāba)

Occurs very frequently

To repent towards God

Besides the verb تاب should be noted تَوَّابٌ and تَوَّابَةٌ repentance, and تَوَّابٌ the relenting, used as a title of Allah

The word is undoubtedly a borrowing from the Aramaic (cf Halevy in *JA*, ser vii, vol x, p 423), for the Semitic root which appears in Heb as שׁוּב, is in S Semitic found as Sab 𐩦𐩣𐩪, Ar تَاب and only normally appears with initial 𐩦 in Aram ܬܘܒ, Syr ܬܒ The Ar تَاب, particularly in the derived sense of recompense, is used not infrequently in the Qur'an, cf iii, 139, iv, 133, xviii, 42, etc

Fraenkel, *Vocab*, 22, noted that the word was Aram¹ but did not inquire further as to its Jewish or Christian origin The balance of probability seems in favour of Hirschfeld's suggestion, *Beitrag*, 39, that it is of Jewish origin,² though in face of Syr ܬܒ and ܬܒܐ penitent (ο μετανοῶν), ܬܒܬ penitence, one cannot absolutely rule out the possibility of a Christian origin Horovitz, *JPN*, 186 lists it among those words of whose origin, whether Jewish or Christian, it is impossible to decide

¹ So *Fremdw*, 83 *PSm* 4399 Massignon *Lexique technique* 52, Fischer, *Glossar* 18

² See also Pautz, *Offenbarung* 157 n 4

تَابُوت (Tābūt)

11, 249 xx, 39

An ark, or chest

In 11, 249, **تَابُوت** means the Ark of the Covenant of the time of Samuel and Saul, the Heb **אֲרוֹן**, and in xx, 39, the Ark of papyrus, the **תֵּבָה נִמְלָא**, in which the infant Moses was committed to the water

The Muslim authorities invariably treat it as an Arabic word, though they were hopelessly at sea as to its derivation, some deriving it from **تَاب** (*LA*, 1, 227, *TA*, 1, 161), some from **تَمَت** (*LA*, 11, 322, *Sihāh*, sub voc), others from **سَه** (Ibn Sīdā in *TA*, ix, 381), while

Ukbari, *Imlā'*, 69, frankly says—**لا يعرف له اشتقاق**

The ultimate origin, of course, is Egyptian *ḏbꜣ t*, whence came the Heb **תֵּבָה**, which is used for Noah's ark in Gen vi, 14, ix, 18 (Gk *κιβωτός*), and the ark of papyrus in which Moses was hidden (Gk *θίβη*)¹ In the Mishna **תֵּיבָה** is used for the Ark of the Covenant, especially in the phrase "coming before the Ark" for prayer, cf Mishna Berak, v, 4, **עָבַר לִפְנֵי הַתֵּיבָה**, and on this ground Geiger,

44, would derive **תַּבּוּת** from the Aram **תֵּיבּוּתָא**, which is consistently used in the Targums and Rabbinic literature for **תֵּבָה** Geiger has been followed by most later writers,² but Fraenkel, *Vocab*, 24, pointed out that the correspondence is even closer with the Eth **ታብታ**, and Noldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, 49, agrees, although he admits the possibility of a derivation from the Aramaic³ A strong point in favour of the Abyssinian origin is the fact that not only is **ታብታ** used to translate *κιβωτός* in Gen vi, 14, etc (cf Jub v, 21), but is also the usual word

¹ Zimmern *Akkad Fremdw* 45 disputes this Egyptian origin and suggests a connection with the Akkadian word *tēbūu*, but see Yahuda *Language of the Pentateuch* p 114 n 2

² Von Kremer *Ideen* 226 n Sprenger *Leben* 11 257 n Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften* 1 176 n Hubschmann *ZDMG* xlv1 260 The Arm **ታብታ** (Hubschmann *Arm Gramm* 1 153) is from the Pers **تابوت** but this is itself a direct borrowing from Arabic Geiger had been preceded in this suggestion by de Sacy in *JA* 1829, p 178

³ So Fischer *Glossar* 17

for the Ark of the Covenant (cf Ex xxv, 10), and is still used in the Abyssinian Church for the box containing the sacred books and vessels ¹

تَمَعَ (Tubba')

xlv, 36, 1, 13

Title of the Kings of the Himyarites

The philologists would derive the word from تَمَعَ to follow, and explain the title as meaning that each king followed his predecessor, cf Bagh on xlv, 36

Fraenkel, *Vocab*, 25, connected it with the Eth ተጠጠ strong, manly, and Noldeke in Lidzbarski's *Ephemeris*, II, 124, supports the connection. The word itself, however, is clearly S Arabian, and occurs in the inscriptions in the compound names 𐩧𐩣𐩪𐩬, 𐩧𐩣𐩪𐩬𐩣, 𐩧𐩣𐩪𐩬, etc Hartmann in *ZA*, xiv, 331-7, would explain it from 𐩧𐩣 = בתע, but this seems very unlikely,² and everything is in favour of the other derivation. The word was apparently well known in pre Islamic Arabia, for it occurs not infrequently in the old poetry ³

تَمِيرَ (Tatbīr)

xvii, 7, xxv, 41

Utter destruction

It is the verbal noun from تَمَرَ, an intensive of تَمَرَ to break or destroy, other forms from which are found in vii, 135, مَشَرَّ, and lxxi, 29, تَمَارًا as Suyūṭī, *Itq*, 320, tells us that some early authorities thought that it was Nabataean. By Nabataean he means Aramaic, and we do find Aram ܬܒܪ Syr ܬܒܪ, to break, which are the equivalents of Heb שבר, Akk šabāru, Sab ܬܒܪ⁴, Ar ثبر,

¹ Dufton *Narrative of a Journey through Abyssinia*, London 1867, p 88

² Lidzbarski *Ephemeris* I 224 says Ich halte diese Erklärung für möglich, nicht wie Hartmann und Mordtmann für gesichert. See also Glaser *Altjemenische Studien*, I 3 Rossini, *Glossarium* 256 Ryckmans *Noms propres*, I, 319

³ See Horowitz *KU* 102 103

⁴ See Mordtmann *Himyar Inschr* 74 D H Müller, *Hof Mus*, I, I 26 Rossini *Glossarium*, 258

Eth **חנל** This is fairly clear evidence that Ar **تبر** is a secondary formation and in all probability from the Aram as Fraenkel, *Vocab*, 25, noted (so Ahrens, *Christliches*, 27)

تَحَارَة (*Tjāra*)

ii, 15, 282, iv, 33, ix, 24, xxiv, 37, xxxv, 26, lx, 10, lxi, 11
Merchandise

It will be noticed that the word occurs only in late passages. In three passages (ii, 15, iv, 33, xxiv, 37) it bears the sense of *trafficking* rather than *merchandise* or the substance of traffic, and this latter is perhaps a derived sense. The word **تاجر** *merchant* does not occur in the Qur'ān, nor any derived verbal form.

There can be no doubt that the word came from the Aram. Fraenkel, *Fremdw*, 182, thinks that **تَحَارَة** was formed from the verb

تَحَر which is a denominative from **تاجر**, the form which he thinks was originally borrowed from Aram. In view, however, of the Aram **ܚܢܐܪܐ**, Syr **ܚܢܐܪܐ**, both of which have the meaning *mercatura*,

there would seem no reason for refusing to derive the Ar **تَحَارَة** directly. In fact, as Fraenkel's discussion shows (p. 181), there is some difficulty

in deriving **تاجر**, a participial form, from Aram **ܚܢܐܪܐ**, Syr **ܚܢܐܪܐ**, and Noldeke had to suggest a dialectal form **ܚܢܐܪܐ** to ease the difficulty.

If, however, the original form in Ar were **تَحَارَة** from **ܚܢܐܪܐ**, and the verb **تَحَر** a denominative from this, it is easy to see how **تاجر** a *merchant*, i.e. "one who traffics", would be formed as a participle from this verb.

That the borrowing was from the Aram is clear from the fact that the original word was the Akk *tamkāru* or *tamgāru*,¹ whence comes the Armen **թանկար** or **թանգար**,² so that in the Aram **ܚܢܐܪܐ**

¹ Zimmern *Akkad Fremdw* 16

² Hübschmann *Arm Gramm* 1, 303

the doubled **ل** represents an original **ل**, which we find still unassimilated in the Mand **לנארא** **לנארא**. The word was well known in Arabia in pre Islamic days, as is clear from the fact that we find both **لنرا** meaning *merchant* and **لنرنا** meaning *commerce* in the N Arabian inscriptions,¹

while **لحر** occurs commonly enough in the old poetry, particularly in connection with the wine trade ²

✓ **تَحَلَّى** (*Taḥallā*)

vii, 139, xcii, 2

To appear in glory

The simple verb **حلا** to *make clear*, is cognate with Heb **גלה** to *uncover*, Aram **גלא**, Syr **ܗܠܐ** to *reveal*, and Eth **ḥl** to *manifest*, *explain*, and Form II, **حَلَّى** to *reveal*, to *manifest* occurs in vii, 186,

xcii, 3 The form **تَحَلَّى**, however, which is used once of God revealing Himself to Moses at Mt Sinai, and once of the brightness of oncoming day, seems to have been formed under the influence of Syr **ܗܠܐ**, which, as Mingana, *Syriac Influence*, 86, points out, had become specialized in this sense, and may have been known in religious circles at Mecca and Madina in this technical sense. It is at least suggestive that *LA*, xviii, 163, uses only Hadith in explanation of the word

تَسْنِيم (*Tasnīm*)

lxxxiii, 27

Tasnīm—name of a fountain in Paradise

The exegetes derive the word from **سَم** to *raise*, Form II of **سَم** to *be high*, and the fountain is said to be called **تَسْنِيم** because the water is carried from it to the highest apartment of the Pavilion, cf *Zam* on the passage, and Ṭab quoting Mujāhid and Al Kalbī, also *LA*,

¹ de Vogué *Syrie Centrale* No 4 Cook *Glossary* 119

² Fraenkel, *Fremdw* 158 182 D H Muller in *WZKM* 1 27 and note *LA* v 156 with a verse from Al A sha

xv, 199 It is obvious, however, that this is merely an attempt to explain a word that was strange to the exegetes, and which lent itself to explanation as a form *تفعیل* from *سم* There is no occurrence of the word earlier than the Qur'ān, and apparently nothing in the literature of the surrounding peoples from which we can derive it, so Noldeke is doubtless right when in his *Sketches*, 38, he takes the word to be an invention of Muhammad himself

تفسير (Tafsīr)

xxv, 35

An explanation or interpretation

The exegetes naturally take it as the verbal noun from *فسر* to explain, Form II of *فسر* to discover something hidden Fraenkel, *Fremdw*, 286, however, thinks that in this technical sense *فسر* is a borrowing from the Syr *ܦܫܪ* to expound, make clear, which is very commonly used in early Syriac texts in the sense of interpretation of Scripture This sense of to solve, to interpret from the Aram *ܦܫܪ* Syr *ܦܫܪ* to dissolve, seems a peculiar development of meaning in Aram, and Heb *פִּשַׁר* is a loan word from Aram *ܦܫܪ*, so that Ar *فسر* is doubtless of the same origin,¹ and *تفسير* and *تفسر* were later formed from this borrowed verb

Halevy, *JA*, vii^e ser, vol x, p 412, thinks that he finds the word *ܦܫܪ* interpreter in the Sabaite inscriptions, which, if correct, would point to the pre Islamic use of the root in this sense in N^W Arabia

تنور (Tannūr)

x1, 42, xxiii, 27

Oven

It was early recognized by the philologists as a word of foreign origin al-Asma'ī, according to as Suyūṭī, *Muzḥir*, i, 135, classed it as a

¹ Zimmern *Akkad Fremdw* 68 however would derive the Aram forms from Akk *pašaru* See also Horovitz *JPN* 218

Persian loan word, which was also the opinion of Ibn Duraid, as we learn from al-Jawālīqī, *Mu'arrab*, 36¹ ath-Tha'alībī, *Fīqh*, 317, gives it in his list of words that are common to both Persian and Arabic, and Ibn Qutaiba, *Adab al-Kātib*, 528, quotes Ibn 'Abbas as saying that it was one of those words which are common to all languages² Some, however,

argued for its being an Arabic word from نار or نور as the *Muhīt*, sub

voc, explains it—"It is said to be Arabic from نور or نار and that its

original form was تنور on the measure تفعول then the و was given *hamza* because of the weight of the *damma* on it, and then the *hamza*

was suppressed and replaced by another ن, so that it became "

This was not looked on with favour by the philologists, however, for

we read in *TA*, III, 70, "As for the statements about تنور being from

نار or نور and that the ت is an augment, it is all wrong, and Ibn

'Uṣfūr pointed this out clearly in his book *Al Mumattī'* as others have done" This judgment of the philologists is vindicated by the fact

that فَعُول is not a genuine Arabic form at all³

The Commentators differ among themselves as to the meaning of the word, some taking it to mean the "surface of the earth", or "the highest part of the earth", or "morning light", or "oven (cf Tab on XI, 42) That the word does mean *oven* is evident from its use in the old poetry, e g Hamāsa, 792

اقرص تصلّى طهره بطية تنورها حتى يطير له قشر

"Is it a loaf which a Nabataean woman bakes in her oven till the crust rises,"

or a verse in *Aghānī*, III, 16, l 7 The Lexicons agree that this is the original meaning, cf Jawharī, sub voc, and *LA*, v, 162

Fraenkel, *Fremdw*, 26, suggested that the word came into Arabic

¹ al Jawālīqī is the source of as Suyutī *Itq* 320 *Mutaw* 46 and al Khafajī 52

² So al Laith in *LA* v 163 and see the comment of Abū Mansur therein

³ Roncevalles in *Al Machriq* xv 949 and see *LA* v 163

from the Aram¹ In the O T תִּנּוּר occurs frequently for *furnace* or *oven*, i.e. the Gk κλίβανος, and the form in the Aram Targums is תִּנּוּרָא, corresponding with the Syr ܬܢܘܪ of the Peshitta and ecclesiastical writings (*PSm*, 4473) It also occurs as *tinūru* in Akkadian,² a form which Dvořák takes to be a borrowing from the Heb תִּנּוּר, but without much likelihood³ Closely connected with this is another

set of words, Aram אַתְּנָא, Syr ܬܢܘܪܐ, Eth አቶን, Ar اتون, with which group D H Muller would associate the Akk *u dun tum* With it again is to be connected yet another set of words—Aram תִּנְנָא, Syr ܬܢܐ smoke, Eth ተን = ατμῖς vapour, and Mand ܬܢܢܐ furnace

As the root תִּנּוּר is not original in any Semitic language, we may turn to the theory of Perisan origin suggested by the Muslim philologists

Fraenkel, indeed, though he claims that the Ar تنور is a borrowing from the Aram, yet thinks that the Aram word itself is of Iranian origin⁴ In Avestic we find the word 𐬰𐬀𐬢𐬀𐬭𐬀 *tanūra* (cf *Vendidad*, viii, 254), and in Phlv it is ܬܢܘܪ meaning *baking oven*⁵ The word, however, is no more Iranian than it is Semitic, and as Dvořák and Hurgronje point out, the Iranian scholars treat it as a loan word from Semitic⁶ Now the word occurs also in Armenian, cf Թննիր *oven*, and Թննրատան *a bakery*, where Hubschmann takes it as a borrowing from Iranian,⁷ and Lagarde as a borrowing from Semitic⁸

The truth would seem to be that it is a word belonging to the

¹ The *Muhl* sub voc says that some authorities considered it as of Hebrew or Syriac origin but he does not mention these and as he explains it as due to the combination of ܬ and ܢ or ܬܢ, one may suspect that he is merely copying from the old American translation of Gesenius Hebrew Lexicon Guidi *Della Sede* 597 noted its foreign origin

² Zimmern *Akkad Fremdw* 32

³ *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung* 1 119 ff D H Muller *WZKM* 1, 23 is nearer the mark however in suggesting that תִּנּוּר is a borrowing from Mesopotamia from an older form *tannura*

⁴ *Fremdw* 26 cf also Nöldeke *Sasaniden* 165

⁵ West *Glossary* 121

⁶ Dvořák op cit Hurgronje *WZKM*, 1, 73 Cf Bartholomae *AIW* 638 Haug *Parsis* 5 Justi *Handbuch der Zend Sprache* 1864 p 132 Spiegel *ZDMG* ix 191

⁷ *Arm. Gramm.*, 1, 155

⁸ *Zur Urgeschichte der Armenier* 1854 p 813 and *Armenische Studien* 1877, No 863

✓ pre Semitic and pre Indo European population of the area which has been taken over into both groups in its original form and with its original meaning¹ If this is so then there is no reason why the Arabs might not have obtained the word from this primitive source, and not through the Aramaic

تَوَّابٌ (*Tawwāb*)

ii, 35, 51, 122, 155, iv, 20, 67, ix, 105, 119, xxiv, 10, xlix, 12, cx, 3

The Relenting one

One of the names of God, used only of Him in the Qur'an and only in Madinan passages

The Muslim authorities take it as a formation from تَاب We have already seen, however, that تَاب is a borrowed religious term used by Muhammad in a technical sense, and Lidzbarski in *SBAW*, Berlin 1916, p 1218, argues that تَوَّاب instead of being a regular Arabic formation from the already borrowed تَاب, is itself a distinct borrowing from the Aram. The Akk. *tawaru*, he says,² was borrowed into Aram, e.g. into Palmyrene, and the Mand. ܬܐܘܪܐ is but a rendering of the same word Halevy, *JA*, vii^e ser, vol x, p 423, would recognize the word in ܬܐܘܪܐ of a Safaitic inscription, and if this is correct there would be clear evidence of its use in N^w Arabia in pre Islamic times

تَوْرَة (*Taurāh*)

iii, 2, 43, 44, 58, 87, v, 47-50, 70, 72, 110, vii, 156, ix, 112, xlviii, 29, lxi, 6, lxii, 5

The Torah

¹ It may be noted that the word occurs also in Turkish تَوْر Turki *tanur* Afghan *tanarah* See also Henning in *BSOS* ix 88

² Lidzbarski admits that Delitzsch *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch* 703a and Zimmern *Akkadisches Fremdwörter* 66 had earlier shown the connection between *tawaru* and ܬܐܘܪܐ

It is used as a general term for the Jewish Scriptures,¹ but particularly as associated with Moses, and in a few passages (iii, 44, 87 lxi, 6, etc.) it seems to have the definite sense of *νόμος*. With the possible exception of vii, 156, it occurs only in Madinan passages.

Clearly it represents the Heb תורה, and was recognized by some of the early authorities to be a Hebrew word, as we learn from az Zajjāj in *TA*, x, 389, and Bagh on iii, 2. Some, however, desired

to make it an Arabic word derived from *ورى*, a view which Zam on iii, 2, scouts, though it is argued at length in *LA*, xx, 268, and accepted without question by Raghib, *Mufradāt*, 542. Western scholars from the time of Marracci, *Prodromus*, i, 5, have recognized it as a borrowing direct from the Heb,² and there is no need to discuss the possible Aram. origin mentioned by Fraenkel, *Vocab*, 23.³ The word was doubtless well known in Arabia before Muhammad's time of Ibn Hisham, 659.

تین (Tin)

xcv, 1

Fig

That the word has no verbal root and was a primitive borrowing was noted by Guidi, *Della Sede*, 599, with whom Fraenkel *Fremdw* 148 agrees. The borrowing was probably from the Aram. In Heb. we have תאנה, and in Phon. תין which appears to have been vowelised תין,⁴ but the Aram. תינא, Syr. ܬܝܢ, which occur beside the forms ܬܝܢ and Syr. ܬܝܢ (usually contracted to ܬܝܢ then ܬܝܢ

¹ Hirschfeld *Beitrage* 65 would go further. He says: Der Begriff Tora ist im Koran bekanntlich möglichst weit zu fassen so dass auch Mischnah Talmud Midrasch und Gebetbuch darunter zu verstehen sind. Geiger 46 on the other hand would limit the meaning of the word to the Pentateuch. It should be remembered however that both in Jewish and Christian circles the Law frequently stood for the whole O.T. Cf. תורה in Sanh. 91b and the N.T. use of *νόμος* in Jno. x. 34. 1 Cor. xiv. 21. Cf. 2 Esdras xix. 21 and *Mekilta* Beshallah 9 (ed. Friedmann p. 34b).

² So de Sacy *JA* 1829 p. 175. Geiger 45. von Kremer *Ideen* 226 n. Pautz *Offenbarung* 120 n. 1. Hirschfeld *Beitrage* 65. Horowitz *AU* 71. *JPA* 194. Margoliouth *ERE* x. 540.

³ Fischer *Glossar* 18a however suggests that it may be a mixed form from the Heb. תורה and Aram. אורייתא cf. also Ahrens *ZDMG* lxxiv. 20 and Torrey *Foundation* 51.

⁴ D. H. Müller, *WZKM* i. 26 and see Lagarde's discussion in *GGA* for 1881.

cf Akk *tittu*),¹ give us the form we need, and which may also be the origin of the Iranian form found in Phlv 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥, which Haug, *PPGI*, 217, takes to be a mispronunciation of 𐭠𐭣𐭥 *tīn* = ficus. The word occurs in the old poetry and was doubtless well known in pre Islamic Arabia (cf Laufer, *Sino Iranica*, 411)

حَابِيَّة (Jābīa)

xxxiv 12

A cistern

It occurs in the Qur'an in the Solomon story, in the plu form حَوَات, which is modified from حَوَائِي used of the "deep dishes like cisterns — حَمَان كَالْحَوَات, which the Jinn made for Solomon

Fraenkel in *Ber Ass*, III, 74, 75, points out that it is from the Syr ܚܠܐ a cistern or any collection of water. The ح for ق is not without parallels, as Fraenkel shows, cf حَائِلِيق for ܚܠܐܝܩ.

That the word was known in pre Islamic Arabia is clear from a verse of al A'shā in *Kāmil*, 4, 14

حَالُوت (Jālūt)

II 250-2

Goliath

There was very general agreement among the Muslim authorities that the name was not Arabic, even Raghib, *Mufradāt*, 94, agreeing that *دَلِكْ أَعْمَى لَا أَصْلَ لَهُ فِي الْعَرَبِيَّةِ*, cf also al Jawāliqī, *Mu'arrab*, 46, *LA*, II, 325, *TA*, I, 535

Clearly حَالُوت is an attempt to reproduce the Heb גִּלְיָת of the O T narrative, of which the Qur'anic story is obviously a garbled

¹ From **tintu* see Zimmern *Akkad Fremdw* 55

² Fraenkel *Fremdw* 275 referring to Noldeke, *Mand Gramm*, 38 n 2 Hoffmann in *ZDMG* xxxii 748 and cf *Hamasa* 244 (فَعَسَوْسَ and حَعَسَوْسَ)

version¹ Hirschfeld, *New Researches*, 13, suggested that the Qur'ānic form is due to Muhammad's informant having misread the גלית of his MS as גלות, which of course it was very easy to do, and vowelizing it גלות gave Muhammad his حالات This is very ingenious, and has in its favour the fact that the Goliath story occurs only in the late Madīna period when Muhammad was beginning to pick up more and more detailed information from the Jews It is difficult, however to think that any Jewish informant skilled enough to read the Heb text would not have known the Biblical story well enough to have avoided such a mistake, unless indeed he deliberately misled Muhammad

Like the Aram גלוחא (Syr ܓܠܘܚܐ),² the word גלות means an *exile*, and in the Talmud (e.g. Sukkah, 31a), the Exilarch is called ריש גלוחא, so Horowitz, *KU*, 106, suggests that this גלות, which must have been commonly used among the Jews of Arabia, may have become confused in Muhammad's mind with the גלית of the Biblical story, and so have given rise to حالات In any case we are safe in attributing the introduction of the name to Muhammad himself for no trace of it can be found in pre Islamic days³

حُب (Jubb)

xii, 10, 15

A well, or cistern

The word is usually taken as a derivation from حَبَّ to *cut off* though exactly how it is to be derived from this root is not clear Raghīb, *Mufradāt*, 82, gives an alternative explanation, that it is so called because dug out of the حَوْب, i.e. rough ground

It is used only in the Joseph story, where in the OT we have

¹ Geiger 182 Sycz *Eigennamen* 44

² Which indeed was borrowed into Armenian Cf Գաղղաթ (Hubschmann *Arm Gramm* 1 301)

³ It occurs in a verse of the Jewish poet as Samau al but Nöldeke *ZA* xxvii 178 shows that the verse in question is post Islamic and under Qur'anic influence

בֹּר, but the Targums read נִבָּה or נִבְּה, and the Peshitta has נִבְּהָ. The origin would thus be Aramaic and probably it was an early borrowing¹. There is a Minacan [𐎠𐎢] but the meaning is uncertain (Rossini, *Glossarium*, 121).

جِبْت (Jibt)

iv, 54

Jibt

It occurs only along with the Ethiopic word طَاعُوت in the sentence 'they believe in Jibt and Tāghūt'. The exegetes knew not what to make of it, and from their works we can gather a score of theories as to its meaning, whether idol—صَم, or priest—كَاهِن, or sorcerer—ساحِر, or sorcery—سحر, or Satan, or what not. It was generally agreed that it was an Arabic word, Baiḍ, e.g., claiming that it was a dialectal form of حَس, a theory that was taken up by Rāghib *Mufradāt*, 83, and others². Some of the philologists, however, admitted that it was a foreign word (cf. Jawharī, sub voc., *LA*, II, 325),³ and from as Suyūṭī, *Itq*, 320, we learn that some of them even knew that it was Ethiopic.

Margolouth in *ERE*, vi, 249, suggested that it was the γλυπτα of the LXX from γλύφω *to carve or engrave*, which is used to translate פָּסַל in Lev. xxvi, 1. This assumes that its meaning is very much the same as Tāghūt, i.e. *idol*, and this has the weight of evidence from the Commentators in its favour. It is a little difficult, however, to see how the Greek word could come directly into Arabic without having left any trace in Syriac. It is more likely that as Suyūṭī's authorities were right for once, and that it is an Abyssinian word.

¹ Bräunlich *Islamica* 1 327 notes that it is a borrowed term. Cf. also Zimmern *Altkadische Fremdwörter* 44. It is also the origin of the Arm. 𐎠𐎢 of Hubschmann 1 302.

² حَس itself is a foreign word according to al Khafajī 58. Vollers *ZDMG* li 296 says it is from γυψος.

³ Jawharī's clinching argument is that ح and ب do not occur as the first and last radicals of any genuine Arabic word.

usage Cheikho, *Nasrāniya*, 235, gives an instance of a personal name containing the word but Horovitz, *KU*, 107, rightly insists on the incorrectness of this ¹ Muhammad seems to have been able to assume in his Madīnan audience some familiarity with the name, and the probabilities are that it came to him in its Syr form

حَمِيْن (Jabīn)

xxxvii 103

The temple, or side of forehead

The sole occurrence of the word is in the story of Abraham preparing to sacrifice his son, when he laid him down on his forehead The exegetes got the meaning right, but neither they nor the Lexicons have any satisfactory explanation of the origin of the word from

1 root ح

Barth has suggested an Aramaic origin גְּבִינָא means *brow* or *eyebrow*, and is fairly common in the Rabbinic writings Similarly ܥܒܝܢ is *eyebrow* and a commonly used word From either of these it may have been an early borrowing into Arabic

حِرْيَة (Jizya)

ix 29

Tribute

The word is used in a technical sense in this passage which is late Madīnan, and looks very much like an interpolation in the Qur'an reflecting later usage

In later Islam حَرِيَّة was the technical term for the poll tax imposed on the Dhimmīs, i.e. members of protected communities (cf. as-Sijistānī, 101) It is usually derived from حَرَى, and said to be so called because it is a compensation in place of the shedding of their blood (so Raghib, *Mufradāt*, 91, *L4*, xviii, 159) It is, however, the Syr ܥܝܒܝܬܐ, a

¹ Tulaiha, one of Muhammad's rival Prophets, claimed support from Gabriel (Tab *Annales* i 1890 Beladhori 96) but this may have been in imitation of Muhammad though the weight of evidence seems to point to his having come forward quite independently as a preacher of higher religion

capitation or poll tax, which though not a word of very common use (*PSm*, 695, 696), was nevertheless borrowed in this sense into Persian as کَریت, as Noldeke, *Sasaniden*, 241, n, points out ¹

On the ground of a word 𐩇𐩣𐩪 in a Minaean text (Glaser, 284, 3) which may mean *tribute*, Grimme, *ZA*, xxvi, 161, would take حریه as a borrowing from S Arabia, but in the uncertainty of the correct interpretation of this text, it seems better at present to content our selves with Fraenkel, *Fremdw*, 283, in holding to an Aramaic origin ²

حَلَابِيب (Jalābīb)

xxxiii, 59

Wrappers Plu of حَلَاب, a large outer covering worn by women

It is as an article of women's attire that it is mentioned in the Qur'an, though the Lexicons differ considerably as to the exact meaning (cf *LA*, i, 265)

The difficulty of deriving the word from حَلَب is of course obvious, and Noldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, 53, recognized it as the Eth ^v 𐤒𐤁𐤏𐤏, from 𐤒𐤁𐤏𐤏 to cover or cloak, which is quite common in the oldest texts. It was apparently an early borrowing, for it occurs in the early poetry, e.g. *Dir Hudh*, xc, 12

حُنَاح (Junāh)

v, 94, xxxiii, 5, 51, etc, some twenty five times

Sin, wrong, crime

A favourite Madina word, occurring only in late passages. The favourite phrase is لَا حُنَاحَ عَلَي, and it is used as a technical term in Muhammad's religious legislation ³

The Lexicons give no satisfactory explanation of the word though

¹ Vullers *Lex* ii 999

² Cf Schwally *Idioticon* 17

³ Horovitz, *KU* 62 n

they apparently treat it as a genuine Arabic formation. As Hubschmann showed in 1895 in his *Persische Studien*, 162, 212, it is the Pers **گناه**,¹ through the Pazend *gunāh* (Shikand, *Glossary*, 247) from Phlv **𐭥𐭮𐭥** *vinās*,² a crime or sin (as is obvious from the Arm **ܝܢܐܣ** = **ἀμαρτήμα** in the old Bible translation),³ and the fact that *venāh* still occurs in one of the Persian dialects as a direct descendant from the Phlv **𐭥𐭮𐭥**,⁴ which is related to Skt **विनाश** *vināśa* and is quite a good Indo-European word. In Phlv the word is used technically just as in the Qur'ān, and we find such combinations as **𐭥𐭮𐭥** *avinās* = sinless (*PPGI*, 77), **𐭥𐭮𐭥 𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭥** *vināskārīh* = sinfulness, iniquity (West, *Glossary*, 248), and **𐭥𐭮𐭥 𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭥** *vināskār* = a criminal, sinner (*PPGI*, 225).⁵

The word was borrowed in the pre-Islamic period and occurs in the old poetry, e.g. in the Mu'allaqa of al-Hārith, 70, etc., and was doubtless adopted directly into Arabic from the spoken Persian of the period, for the word is not found in Syriac.

جَنَّة (*Janna*)

Of very frequent occurrence Cf. 11, 23, 33, 76, etc.

Garden

It is used in the Qur'ān both of an earthly garden (lxi, 16, xxxiv, 14, ii, 267, etc.), and particularly as a name for the abode of the Blessed (lxix, 22, lxxxviii, 10, etc.).

In the general sense of *garden*, derived from a more primitive meaning, *enclosure*, the word may be a genuine Arabic inheritance from primitive Semitic stock, for the word is widespread in the

¹ Völlers hesitatingly accepts this in *ZDMG* 1 639 (but see p. 612 where he quotes it as an instance of sound change) and it is given as a Persian borrowing by Addai Sher 45.

² Hubschmann *Persische Studien* 159 and Haug in *PPGI* 225. Cf. West *Glossary* 247. Nyberg *Glossar* 243.

³ Hubschmann *Arm. Gramm.* 1 248.

⁴ Horn *Grundriss* 208. Kurdish *gunah* cannot be quoted in illustration as it is a borrowing from Mod. Persian.

⁵ The Pazend has similar combinations e.g. *gunahī* sinfulness, *gunahkār* sinful, mischievous, *gunahkārī* culpability, *gunah samānīhā*, proportionate to the sin, *ham gunah* (cf. Phlv **𐭥𐭮𐭥**) accomplice (Shikand, *Glossary* 247).

Semitic area, e.g. Akk *gannatu*¹, Heb גַּנָּה, Aram ܓܢܐ, ܓܢܬܐ, Syr ܓܢܐ, Phon ܓܢܐ², Eth ገንዘብ, though perhaps it was a peculiar N Semitic development, for Noldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, 42, would derive both the Ar حنة and Eth ገንዘብ from a N Semitic source³ (See also Fischer, *Glossar*, 22b, and Ahrens, *Christliches*, 27)

In any case in the meaning of Paradise it is certainly a borrowing from the Aram and in all probability from the Syr⁴ where we find it specialized in this sense. This Christian origin was vaguely felt by some of the Muslim philologists, for as Suyūṭī, *Mutaw*, 51, says that Ibn Jubair stated that حنة عدن was Greek, and in the *Itqān* he says that when Ka'b was asked about it he said that حنة in Syriac meant *vines and grapes*. The word in the sense of *garden* occurs frequently in the old poetry, but in the sense of Paradise only in verses which have been influenced by the Qur'ān, as Horovitz, *Paradies*, 7, shows. In this technical sense it would thus have been adopted by Muhammad from his Jewish or Christian environment (Horovitz, *JPN*, 196, 197).

حُنْد (Jund)

Some twenty nine times in various forms Cf II, 250, IX, 26, etc. Host, army, troop, force.

The word has no verbal root in Arabic the verbs حَنَدَ to *levy troops*, and تَحَدَّ to *be enlisted*, being obviously denominative, as indeed is evident from the treatment of the word in the Lexicons (cf *LA*, IV, 106).

¹ Zimmern *Akkad Fremdw* 40

² Perhaps also ܓܢ see Harris *Glossary* 94 and the Ras Shamra ܓܢ

³ D. H. Müller however in *WZKM* I 26 opposes the idea that in the general sense of *garden* it is an Aram borrowing as Fraenkel like Noldeke holds. He points to the وادي الحناب mentioned by Hamadani 76 l. 16 and the place صالح الحناب as proving the existence of the word in S. Arabia. These however may be merely translations of older names.

⁴ Fraenkel *Fremdw* 148. Mingana *Syriac Influence* 85. Horovitz *Paradies* 7 however, makes a strong plea for a Jewish origin on the ground that ܓܢ ܥܕܢ is commoner for Paradise in the Rabbinic writings than in Syriac.

It is clearly an Iranian borrowing through Aram as Fraenkel, *Vocab*, 13, notes, on the authority of Lagarde, *GA*, 24¹ Phlv **𐭪𐭭𐭮𐭭** *gund*, meaning an *army* or *troop*,² is related to Skt **वृन्दा** *vrinda*,³ and was borrowed on the one hand into Arm **գունդ** *army*,⁴ and Kurdish **حود** *village*, and on the other into Aram where we find the **גונדא** of the Baby Talmud, the Mand **גונדא** (Noldeke, *Mand Gramm* 75), and, with suppression of the weak *n*, in Syr **ܓܘܢܕܐ**. The word may possibly have come into Arabic directly from the Iranian, but the probabilities are that it was through Aramaic. In any case it was an early borrowing, for the word is found in the old poetry, e.g. in al A'shā (Geyci, *Zwei Gedichte*, 1, 24 = *Dīwān*, 1, 56) and 'Alqama

جہنم (*Jahannam*)

Occurs some seventy seven times Cf 11, 202

Hell

The fact that it was indeclinable as used in the Qur'an early put the philologists on the track of it as a foreign word (al Jawahiqī, *Mu'arrab* 47, 48, *LA*, xiv, 378, Baid on 11 202, al Khafajī, 59) Many of these early authorities gave it as a Persian loan word (e.g. Jawharī, *Siḥāḥ*,

Raghib, *Mufradāt*, 101), doubtless arguing from the fact that **فردوس** was Persian, but others knew it was a Hebrew word (cf. as Suyūṭī *Itq*, 320, Ibn al Athīr, *Nihāya*, 1, 223)

The earlier European opinion was that it was from the Heb **גיהנם** which in the Talmud becomes **גהנם**⁶ (Buxtorf's *Lexicon*, 206) and is popularly used for Hell De Sacy in *JA*, 1829, p 175, suggested

¹ Lagarde as a matter of fact takes this suggestion back as far as Saint Martin *Memoires* 1 28

² Dinkard 111 Glossary p 6 Nyberg Glossar 86

³ Horn *Grundriss* 179 on the authority of Noldeke Hubschmann *Iersische Studien* 83 however thinks this unlikely

⁴ Lagarde *GA* 24 Hubschmann *Arm Gramm* 1 130 and cf Hubschmann *Persische Studien* 83

⁵ Sprenger *Leben* 11 358 n Vollers *ZDMG* 1 611 We find **גונדא** and **גונדא** on incantation bowls as associated with the hosts of evil spirits cf Montgomery *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* Glossary p 285

⁶ Could this be the origin of the **جہنم** quoted by the philologists as the Hebrew form?

this, and it has been championed by Geiger, 48, who argues that though the absence of the medial *h* in Gk *γεννα* might not dispose of a Christian origin, since this does appear in the Syr *ܡܢܢܐ* and in the Arm *դհնն* derived therefrom,¹ yet the absence of the final *m* is conclusive, as this is lacking in both Greek and Syriac but appears in the Hebrew Geiger has been followed by most later writers,² but it should be noted that his objections do not apply to the Eth *ገነጽ* (sometimes *ገነጽ*), which is phonologically nearer the Arabic and a more likely source, as Noldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, 47, has pointed out³

The word apparently does not occur in the early poetry,⁴ and was thus probably one of the words which Muhammad learned from contact direct or indirect with Abyssinians

حُودَى (*Jūdī*)

xī, 46

The name of the mountain where the Ark rested

The Commentators know that it is the name of a mountain in Mesopotamia near Mosul, and in this they are following Judaeo-Christian tradition. As early as the Targums we find that the apobaterion of Noah was Mt Judi, i.e. the Gordyene mountains in Mesopotamia, which Onkelos calls *קרדו* and Jonathan b. 'Uzziel *קרדון*, the Peshitta agreeing with Onkelos

This *קרדו* = Syr *ܕܐܕܝܐ* = Arm *դհնն*—(sometimes *Կրդ*, *Կր*) is supposed to be the province of Kurdistan,⁵ and a mountain to the S.W. of Lake Van is identified with the mount on which Noah's ark rested.⁶ It is the *τὰ Γορδυνία ὄρη* of Ptolemy v, 12 (ed. C. Müller, 1, 935), and according to the Talmud, *Baba bathra*, 91 a, Abraham was

¹ Hubschmann *Arm. Gramm.* 1, 290

² Von Kremer *Ideen* 226 n. Rodwell *Koran* 189 n. Sycz *Eigennamen* 16. Margoliouth *ERE* x, 540. Sacco *Credenze* 158.

³ *ገነጽ* of course is a borrowing from the Heb. (Noldeke op. cit. 34). Noldeke's suggestion of an Eth. origin for *جودى* has been accepted by Pautz *Offenbarung* 217. Rudolph *Abhangigkeit* 34. Fischer *Glossar* 23.

⁴ The verse in *Hamasa* 816 has doubtless been influenced by the Qur'an.

⁵ On the Arm. *Korduk* see Hubschmann *Arm. Gramm.* 1, 519.

⁶ Neubauer *Geographie du Talmud* 378 ff. It is now known as Judi Dagh. There is a description of the shrine there in Gertrude Bell's *Amurath to Amurath*, 1911, pp. 292-5.

imprisoned there seven years This tradition that Qardu and not Ararat was the resting place of the ark is a very old Mesopotamian tradition and doubtless goes back to some ancient Babylonian story¹ The Jewish tradition passed on to the Christians,² and from them to the Mandaeans and Arabs³

Mingana, *Syriac Influence*, 97, thinks that Muhammad got his name

حودي from a misunderstanding of the name حید as he heard it in the story from Syrian Christians Noldeke, however, in the *Kiepert Festschrift*, p 77, makes the much more interesting suggestion that in the Qur'anic name we have a confusion between the Mesopotamian

קרדי and the Arabian حل الحودی in the territory of Ta'i mentioned by Yaqūt, II, 270, and celebrated in a verse of Abū Sa'tara al Baulānī in the *Hamāsa* (ed Freytag, p 564) It would seem that Muhammad imagined that the people of Noah like those of Ād and Thamūd were dwellers in Arabia, and Mt Jūdī being the highest peak in the neighbourhood would naturally be confused with the Qardes of the Judaeo Christian story

حبل (Habl)

III, 98, 108, XX, 69, XXVI, 43, I, 15, CXI, 5

Rope, cord

The original meaning of *cord* occurs in CXI, 5, "a cord of palm fibre, and in the Aaron story in XX, 69, XXVI, 43, all of which are Meccan passages In I, 15, it is used figuratively of a *vein* in the neck, and in the Madīnan Sūra, III, the "cord of God", "cord of men", apparently means a compact

Zimmern, *Akkad Fremdw*, 15 (cf also his *Babylonische Buss psalmen*, 93 n), declares that the Akk *hbl* is the source of the Heb חבל, Aram חבלא, Syr حبل, and that this Aram form is the

source of both the Arabic حبل and the Eth ሐበለ

¹ Streck *EI* I 1059 *ZA* xv 272 ff Berossus says it landed πρὸς τὴν οὐρὴν τῶν Κορδύαιων

² Various traditions in Fabricius *Cod Pseud Vet Test* II 61 ff and the Christian tradition in Noldeke's article Kardu und Kurden in *Festschrift Kiepert* 1898 p 73

³ Yaqut *Mu jam*, II 144 Mas'udi *Muru*, I 74 Ibn Baṭūṭa II 139 Qazwini I 157

While there may be some doubt about the ultimate derivation from Akkadian (see *BDB*, 286), the Arabic verb **حل** is obviously denominative "to snare a wild beast with a halter", and we may accept its derivation from the Aram[✓] as certain ¹

The Syr **ܫܠܐ** seems to have been the origin of the Arm **ረሳዊ**,² and we may suspect that the Arabic word came from the same source. In any case it must have been an early borrowing as it occurs in the old poetry

حِزْب (Hizb)

v, 61, xi 20, xiii 36, xviii, 11, xix, 38, xxiii, 55, xxv, 31, xxxiii, 20, 22, xxxv, 6, xxxviii, 10, 12, xl, 5 31, xliii, 65, lviii, 20, 22

A party or sect

The philologists derive it from a verbal root **حرب** but this primitively had quite a different meaning, and the sense of *divide into parties*, or **حَرَبَ** to form a party, are clearly denominative

The word is doubtless to be explained with Noldeke, *Neue Beutrage*, 59, n, from the Eth **ሕዝብ** plu **ሕሕዝብ**³ meaning *people, class, tribe* which in the Ethiopic Bible translates **λαός, φυλαί, δῆμος** and also **αἵρεσις**, as in **ሕዝብ ሰዳ ቃውያን** or **ሕዝብ ፈረሳውያን** for the parties of the Sadducees and the Pharisees, which closely parallels the Qur'anic usage. Noldeke thinks it probable that the word was first made prominent by the Qur'an, though from the way Muhammad makes use of it one would judge that its meaning was not altogether unfamiliar to his hearers. As a matter of fact we find the word in the S Arabian inscriptions, as e.g. in Glaser 424, 14 **ΧΞΠΥ ΠΞΨἕ∞ ነታየን** "of Raidan and the folks of Habashat",⁴

¹ The word occurs however in the Thamudic inscriptions of Ryckmans *Noms propres* 1 87

² Hubschmann *Arm Gramm* 1 308 and cf Fr Muller in *HZAM* vii 381

³ That we have the same form in Amharic Tigre and Tigrinya seems clear evidence that the word is native Abyssinian and not a borrowing

⁴ Glaser *Die Abessinier im Arabien und Afrika* Munchen 1895 p 122. Noldeke op cit 60 n would derive both the Ar **حرب** and Eth **ሕዝብ** from an old S Semitic form. Cf Rossini *Glossarium* 146, 147

so that it is more likely that it came into use among the Northern Arabs from this area than that Muhammad got it from Abyssinians ¹

حَصَدَ (*Hasada*)

xii, 47—also حَصَاد (vi 142), حَصِيدٌ (xi, 102, 1, 9), حَصِيدًا (x, 25, xxi, 15)

To reap

The regular meaning of حَصَدَ is *to twist*, and in this sense it occurs in the old poetry, as in an Nabigha, vii, 32 (Ahlwardt, *Divans*, p 11) and Tarafa, *Mu'allaga*, 38 The sense of *to reap*, however, is denominative from حَصَادٌ which is a borrowing from مِسْوَدٌ (Fraenkel, *Fremdw* 132, 133) and the Ar equivalent of the Aram ܡܫܘܕ, Syr مِسْوَد is حَصَدَ *to cut*, which is further illustrated by the S Arabian 𐩦𐩣𐩪 𐩦𐩣𐩪, the name of the harvest month ²

حَصَاد is used not infrequently in the old poetry, and was probably an early borrowing first used among the Arabs who settled down on the borderlands to an agricultural life

حِصْنٌ (*Hisn*)

lix, 2

A fortress

It is only the plu حُصُون that is found in the Qur'an, though the denominative verb حَصَّنَ occurs participially in v 14 of the same Sūra The passages are late and refer to the Jews of Nadir near Madina

The verb is clearly denominative though the philologists try to

¹ Horovitz *KU* 19 thinks it is a genuine Arabic word though in its technical sense in the Qur'an perhaps influenced by the Ethiopic

² D H Muller *WZKM* 1 25 Rossini *Glossarium* 155

derive it from a more primitive **حصن** to be inaccessible (*LA*, xvi, 275), and Guidi, *Della Sede*, 579, had seen that **حصن** was borrowed from the Syr **ܡܚܨܢ** Fraenkel, *Fremdw*, 235, 236, agrees with this on two grounds, firstly on the general ground that such things as fortresses are not likely to have been indigenous developments among the Arabs, and as a matter of fact all the place names compounded with **حصن** which Yāqūt collects in his *Mu'jam* are in Syria secondly on philological grounds, for **حصن** fortress is not from a root to be inaccessible but from one to be strong, which we find in Heb **חֲסִין**,

Aram **ܚܨܝܢ**, Syr **ܡܚܨܢ**,¹ of which the Arabic equivalent is **حس** to be hard, rough In the Targums **חֲסִינָא** is a store or warehouse but in the Syr **ܡܚܨܢ** is properly a fortress The word is frequently used in the old poetry and must have been an early borrowing

~
حطه (*Hulla*)

ii, 55, vii, 161

Forgiveness

Both passages are late and were a puzzle to the exegetes as we see from Baiḍawī's comment on them The exegetes are in general agreed that the meaning is *forgiveness* and many of the early authorities admitted that it was a foreign word *T*4, v, 119 quotes al Farrāḥ as taking it to be Nabataean, and as Suyūṭī's authorities take it to be Hebrew (*Itq* 320, compared with *Mutan* 58)

As early as 1829 de Sacy in *JA*, iv, 179 pointed out that it was the Heb **חָטָא**, with which Geiger 18, and Hirschfeld, *Beiträge*, 54 ff, *New Researches*, 107, agree, though Dvorák, *Fremdw*, 55 suggests the Syr **ܚܬܐ** as a possibility, and Leszynsky, *Juden in Arabien*, 32, a derivation from **חָטָא** Horovitz, *JPN*, 198, points out that though it is clearly a foreign word, none of these suggested derivations is quite satisfactory, and the source of the word is still a puzzle

¹ And perhaps the Eth **חלל** to build

حِكْمَةٌ (Hikma)

Occurs some nineteen times of 11, 123, 146, v, 110

Wisdom

It is clearly a technical word in the Qur'ān, being used in its original sense only in 11, 272, but applied to Luqman (xxx1, 11), to David (11, 252, xxxviii, 19), to the Prophet's teaching (xvi, 126 liv 5), to the Qur'an (11, 231, iv, 113, xxxiii, 34, lxii, 2), and used synonymously with "revealed book" (iii, 43, 75, 158, iv, 57, v, 110,

xvii, 41, xliii, 63) In connection with it should be noted also حَكِيم

with its comparative أَحْكَم

The root حَكَم is of wide use in Semitic but the sense of *wisdom* appears to be a N Semitic development,¹ while the S Semitic use of the word is more in connection with the sense of *govern*. Thus in N Semitic we find Akk *hakamu* = *know* Heb חָכַם, Aram חֲכַם, Syr *ܡܚܟܡܐ* to be wise,² and חכמה *wisdom* in the Zenjirli

inscription. Thus حِكْمَةٌ and حَكِيم³ seem undoubtedly to have

been formed under Aram influence.⁴ With حَكْمَةٌ compare Heb חֲכָמָה, Aram חֲכַמְתָּא, Syr *ܡܚܟܡܐ*, and the Zenjirli

חכמה, and with حَكِيم compare Aram חֲכִים, Syr *ܡܚܟܡܐ*,

which as Horovitz, *KU*, 72, notes, is common in the earliest Aramaic period. It is possible that the word came into use from S Arabia for we find 𐩧𐩣𐩪 in a Qatabanian inscription published by Drenbourg and which Nielsen takes to be an epithet of the moon god.

حَنَانٌ (Hanān)

xix, 14

Grace

¹ But see Zimmern *Akkad Fremdw* 29

² So חֲכַם in the Ras Shamra tablets

³ We already have חֲכַם in Safaitic and the name Ἀχμ. See Wuthnow *Menschenamen* 31 and Ryckmans *Noms propres* 191

⁴ Horovitz *KU* 72 rightly adds that حَكْمَةٌ = حَكْم is similarly under Aram influence

⁵ Nouveaux textes yéménites inédits in *Rev. Ass.* 1902 p. 117 ff. and see Nielsen in *ZDMG* lxxvi 592

This sole occurrence of the word is in a passage descriptive of John the Baptist Sprenger, *Leben*, i, 125,¹ noted that the word was probably of foreign origin and Mingana, *Syriac Influence*, 88, claims that it is the Syr **ܡܢܢܐ**

The primitive verb **ܡܢܢ** does not occur in the Qur'an It may be compared with Sab **𐤌𐤏** used in proper names,² Heb **מְנַן** *to be gracious*, and Syr **ܡܢܐ**, Aram **ܡܢܢ** with the same meaning It is to be noted, however, that the sense of *grace* is the one that has been most highly developed in N Semitic, e.g. Akk *annu* = *grace, favour*, Heb and Phon **מָן**, Aram **ܡܢܐ** and **ܡܢܢܐ**, Syr **ܡܢܢܐ**, and this **ܡܢܢܐ** is used in the Peshitta text of Lk i, 58 in the account of the birth of John the Baptist

Halévy, *JA*, vii^e ser, x, 356, finds **ܡܢܢܐ**—*grace de Dieu* in a Safaitic inscription, which if correct would be evidence of the early use of the word in N Arabia

ܡܢܢܐ (*Hanīf*)

ii 129, iii 60, 89, iv 124 vi 79 162 x 105 xvi 121 124, xxii 32, xxx 29, xcvi 4

A Hanīf

The passages in which the word occurs are all late Meccan or Madinan, so the word was apparently a technical term which Muhammad learned at a relatively late period in his public career Its exact meaning, however, is somewhat difficult to determine³ Of the twelve cases, where the word is used eight have reference to the faith of Abraham, and in nine of them there is an added phrase explaining that to be a Hanīf means not being a polytheist, this explanatory phrase apparently showing that Muhammad felt he was using a word which needed explanation in order to be rightly understood by his hearers

The close connection of the word with the **ܡܠܐ ܐܪܥܐ** is important, for we know that when Muhammad changed his attitude

¹ See also i 581 and ii 184 n

² D. H. Müller *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien* 40 gives **𐤌𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍** which he translates *die Liebe des Frommen* and compares with Heb **חַסְדִּים** and Phon **ܡܢܢܐ** Cf. Rossini *Glossarium* 150

³ See Vall *JR* 49 1903 p. 781

to the Jews he began to preach a new doctrine about Abraham,¹ and to claim that while Moses was the Prophet of the Jews and Jesus the Prophet of the Christians, he himself went back to an earlier revelation which was recognized by both Jews and Christians, the

ملة ابراهيم, which he was republishing to the Arabs Now all our

حيف passages belong to this second period Muhammad is bidden set his face towards religion as a Hanif (x, 105, xxx, 29) He says to his contemporaries, "As for me my Lord has guided me to a straight path, a right religion, the faith of Abraham, a Hanif" (vi, 162) "They say—Become a Jew or a Christian Say—nay rather be of the religion of Abraham, a Hanif" (ii, 129), "Who hath a better religion than he who resigns himself to God, does what is good, and follows the faith of Abraham as a Hanif" (iv, 124) He calls on the Arabs to "be Hanifs to God" (xxii, 32), and explains his own position by representing Allah as saying to him—"Then we told thee by revelation to follow the ملة ابراهيم a Hanif" (xvi, 124) The distinction between Hanifism and Judaism and Christianity which is noted in ii, 129, is very clearly drawn in iii, 60, "Abraham was neither a Jew nor a Christian but a resigned Hanif—حييفا مسلما," and this latter phrase taken along with the من اسلم وجهه لله of iv, 124 was probably connected in Muhammad's mind with what he meant by اسلام, and has given the cue to the use and interpretation of the word in the later days of Islam

The Lexicons are quite at a loss what to make of the word They naturally endeavour to derive it from حيف to incline or decline حيف is said to be a natural contortedness of the feet,² and so حيف is used of anything that inclines away from the proper standard

¹ Hurgonje *Het Mekkaansche Feest* Leiden 1880 p 29 ff Rudolph Abhän gigkeit 48 Torrey's arguments against this in his *Foundation* 88 ff do not seem to me convincing

² Jawhari and *Qamus* sub voc LA x 402

As one can also think of inclining from a crooked standard to the straight, so **حيف** was supposed to be one who turned from the false religions to the true¹ It is obvious that these suggestions are of little help in our problem²

The word occurs not infrequently in the poetry of the early years of Islam³ All these passages are set forth and examined by Horovitz, *AU*, 56 ff, and many of them by Margoliouth, *JRAS*, 1903, p 480 ff, the result being that it seems generally to mean *Muslim* and in the odd occurrences which may be pre Islamic to mean *heathen*⁴ In any case in none of these passages is it associated with Abraham, and there is so much uncertainty as to whether any of them can be considered pre Islamic that they are of very little help towards settling the meaning of the word for us It is unfortunate also that we are equally unable to glean any information as to the primitive meaning of the word from the well known stories of the Hanifs who were earlier contemporaries of Muhammad, for while we may agree with Lyall, *JRAS*, 1903, p 744, that these were all actual historical personages yet the tradition about them that has come down to us has been so obviously worked over in Islamic times, that so far from their stories helping to explain the Qur'an, the Qur'an is necessary to explain them⁵

We are driven back then to an examination of the word itself Bell, *Origin*, 58, would take it as a genuine Arabic word from **حلف** to *decline, turn from*, and thus agrees with the general orthodox theory⁶ We have already noted the difficulty of this, however, and as a matter of fact some of the Muslim authorities knew that as used in the Qur'ān it was a foreign word, as we learn from Mas'ūdī's *Tanbīh*,⁷ where it is given as Syriac

¹ *LA* x 403 Raghīb *Mufradat* 133

² Margoliouth *JRAS* 1903, p 477 These suggestions are clearly too fanciful to deserve serious consideration

³ The name **ⲭⲏⲩⲩ** in Sabaeen and in the Sabaite inscriptions (Rickmans *Noms propres* 1 96) as well as the tribal name **حنبه** ought perhaps to be taken into account

⁴ Noldeke *ZDMG* xli 721 de Goeje *Bibl Geogr Arab* viii Glossary p xviii Wellhausen *Reste* 239 thought that it meant a Christian ascetic and in this he is followed by Noldeke Schwally 1 8 but see Rudolph *Abhangigleit* 70

⁵ Kuenen *Hibbert Lectures* 1882 p 20 On these Hanifs see especially Caetani *Annali* 1 183 ff and Sprenger *Leben* 1 43-7 67-92 110-137

⁶ So apparently Macdonald *MW* vi 308 who takes it to mean *heretic* and see Schulthess in *Noldeke Festschrift* p 86

⁷ Ed de Goeje in *BGA* viii p 91—وهذه كلمة سريانية عرب—

Winckler, *Arabisch Semitisch Orientalisch*, p 79 (i.e. *MVAG*, vi, 229), suggested that it was an Ethiopic borrowing, and Grimme, *Mohammed*, 1904, p 48, wants to link the Hanifs on to some S Arabian cult. The Eth. ሐፍረ, however, is quite a late word meaning *heathen*,¹ and can hardly have been the source of the Arabic.² Nor is there any serious ground for taking the word as a borrowing from Heb. חָנָף *profane*, as Deutsch suggested (*Literary Remains*, 93), and as has been more recently defended by Hirschfeld.³

The probabilities are that it is the Syr. ܡܠܬܐ, as was pointed out by Noldeke.⁴ This word was commonly used with the meaning of *heathen*, and might well have been known to the pre-Islamic Arabs as a term used by the Christians for those who were neither Jews nor of their own faith, and this meaning would suit the possible pre-Islamic passages where we find the word used. Moreover, as Margoliouth has noticed, in using the word of Abraham, Muhammad would be following a favourite topic of Christian apologists, who argued from Rom iv, 10-12, that Abraham's faith was counted for righteousness in his heathen days before there was any Judaism.⁵ (See Ahrens, *Christliches*, 28, and Nielsen in *HA* 4, 1, 250.)

حَوَارِيُّونَ (*Hawārīyūn*)

iii, 45, v, 111 112, lxi, 14

Disciples

It is used only of the disciples of Jesus and only in late Madīnan

as Suyūṭī, *Itq*, 320, includes it in his list of foreign words, but in this he is quite exceptional.⁶ He says "Ibn Abī Ḥatīm quoted from aḍ Dahhak that *Hawārīyūn* means washermen in Nabataean."⁷

¹ Dillmann *Lex* 605

² Noldeke *Neue Beiträge* 35

³ *Beiträge* 43 ff. *New Researches* 26 cf. also Pautz *Offenbarung* 14

⁴ *Neue Beiträge* 30. It has been accepted as such by Andrae *Ursprung* 40. Ahrens *Muhammed* 15 and Mingana *Syriac Influence* 97.

⁵ *JRAS* 1903 p 478. Margoliouth also notes that there may have been further influence from the prophecy that Abraham should be the father of many nations as this word is sometimes rendered by ܡܠܬܐ. From ܡܠܬܐ was formed ܡܠܬܐ and then the sing. ܡܠܬܐ formed from this.

⁶ Also *Mutaw* 59 and given by al Khafajī in his supercommentary to Baid on iii 45.

⁷ al Alusi iii 155 quotes the Nab. form as

Most of the Muslim authorities take it as a genuine Arabic word either from حَوَّرَ (1 e حَارَ يَحُورُ) to return, or from حَوَّرَ to be glistening white. From the first derivation they get the meaning *disciples* by saying that a disciple means a helper, and so حواری means one to whom one turns for help (cf ath Tha'labī, *Qisas*, 273). The other, however, is the more popular explanation, and the disciples are said to have been called حواریون because they were fullers whose profession was to clean clothes, or because they wore white clothing, or because of the purity of their inward life (cf Baiḍ on iii, 45 TA, iii, 161, LA, v, 299). It was probably in this connection that there grew up the idea that the word was Aramaic, for ܚܘܪܝܝܢ like Syr ܚܘܪܝܝܢ means to become white, both in a material and a spiritual sense.

There can be no reasonable doubt, however, that the word is a borrowing from Abyssinia. The Eth ሐዋርያ is the usual Eth translation of ἀπόστολος (cf Mk vi, 30). It is used for *messenger* as early as the Aksum inscription (Noldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, 48), and as early as Ludolf it was recognized as the origin of the Arabic word¹. Dvorak *Fremdu*, 64, thinks that it was one of the words that was learned by Muhammad from the emigrants who returned from Abyssinia, but it is very possible that the word was current in Arabia before his day, for it occurs in a verse of ad Dabī b al Harith (*Asmayāt*, ed Ahlwardt, p 57) referring to the disciples of Christ.

حُبُّ (Hūb)

iv, 2

Crime, sin

The passage is a late Madīnan one referring to the devouring of the property of orphans.

It is generally taken as meaning اِثْمٌ and derived from حَاب (Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 133) as Suyūṭī, however, *Itq*, 320,² says that some

¹ So Fraenkel *Vocab* 24 Wellhausen *Reste* 232 Pautz *Offenbarung* 255 n Dvořák *Fremdu* 58 Wensinck *EI* ii 292 Cheikho *Nasraniya* 189 Horovitz *KU* 108 Vollers *ZDMG* li 293 Sacco *Credenze* 42

² The tradition is given at greater length and more exactly in *Mutaw* 38

early authorities took it to be an Abyssinian word meaning *sin*. That the word is foreign is doubtless correct, but the Abyssinian origin has nothing in its favour, though in the S Arabian inscriptions we find **𐩢𐩣𐩪**, *peccatum, debitum* (Rossini, *Glossarium*, 146)

The common Semitic root **חוב** is *to be guilty*. In Heb the verb occurs once in Dan i, 10, and the noun **חוב** *debt* occurs in Ez xviii, 7. Aram **ܚܘܒ**, Syr **ܚܘܒ**, *to be defeated, to be guilty* are of much more common use, as are their nominal forms **ܚܘܒܐ**, **ܚܘܒܐ**. The

Arabic equivalent of these forms, however, is **حَاب** *to fail, to be disappointed* (BDB, 295), and **حَوْب** or **حُوب**, as Bevan notes,¹ is to be taken as a loan word from Aramaic, and the verb **حَاب** as a denominative. The probabilities are in favour of the borrowing being from Syriac rather than from Jewish Aram,² for **ܚܘܒܐ**, especially in the plu, is used precisely in the Qur'anic sense (*Psm*, 1214)

حُورٌ (*Hūr*)

xlv, 54, lv, 20 lv, 72, lvi, 22

The Houries, or Maidens of Paradise

Except in lv, 72, it is used always in the phrase **حُورٌ عِيسٍ**. The occurrences are all in early Sūras describing the delights of Paradise, where the **حُور عِيسٍ** are the beautiful maidens whom the faithful will have as spouses in the next life.

The Grammarians are agreed that **حور** is a plu of **حوراء** and derived from **حَوْرَ**, a form of **حَار**, and would thus mean "the white ones". **عِيسٍ** is a plu of **أَعْيَسٍ** meaning "wide eyed" (*LA*, xvii, 177). It thus becomes possible to take **حور عِيسٍ** as two adjectives used as nouns meaning "white skinned, large eyed damsels". The

Lexicons insist that the peculiar sense of حَوْرَ is that it means the contrast of the black and white in the eye, particularly in the eye of a gazelle or a cow (cf *LA*, v, 298, and *TA*, iii, 160). Some, however, insist equally on the whiteness of the body being the reference of the word, e.g. al Azharī in *TA*, “a woman is not called حوراء unless along with the whiteness of the eye there is whiteness of body.” One gathers from the discussion of the Lexicographers that they were somewhat uncertain as to the actual meaning of the word, and in fact both *LA* and *TA* quote the statement of so great an authority as al Asma'ī that he did not know what was the meaning of حور as connected with the eye.

The Commentators give us no help with the word as they merely set forth the same material as we find in the Lexicons. They prefer the meaning which refers it to the eye as more suited to the Qur'anic passages, and their general opinion is well summarized in as Sijistānī, 117

Fortunately, the use of the word can be illustrated from the old poetry, for it was apparently in quite common use in pre-Islamic Arabia. Thus in 'Abīd b. al-Abras vii 24 (ed. Lyall) we find the verse—

واواس مثل الدمي حور العيون قد استبيا

“And maidens like ivory statues,¹ white of eyes, did we capture’ and again in 'Adī b. Zaid

هَنَحَ الداءُ في فؤادك حورَ ناعماتٍ بحابِ الملطاط

“They have touched your heart, these tender white maidens, beside the river bank’

and so in a verse of Qa'nab in the *Mukhtārāt* viii, 7, we read—

وفي الحدور لو ان الدار حامة حور اواس في اصواتها عس

“And in the women's chamber when the house is full, are white maidens with charming voices”

In all these cases we are dealing with human women, and except in the verse of 'Abīd the word حور could quite well mean white

¹ So in al-Ashā we find حور كمال الدمي cf Geyer *Zwei Gedichte* 1 196 = *Dwan* xxxiii 11

skinned, and even in the verse of 'Abid, the comparison with ivory statues would seem to lend point to al Azharī's statement that it is only used of the eyes when connected with whiteness of the skin

Western scholars are in general agreed that the conception of the Houries of Paradise is one borrowed from outside sources, and the prevalent opinion is that the borrowing was from Persia. Sale suggested this in his *Preliminary Discourse*, but his reference to the *Sadder Bundahishn* was rather unfortunate, as Dozy pointed out,¹ owing to the lateness of this work. Berthels, however, in his article 'Die paradiesischen Jungfrauen im Islam', in *Islamica*, 1, 263 ff. has argued convincingly that though Sale's *Hūrān* i *Bihisht* may not be called in as evidence, yet the characteristic features of the حور of the Qur'anic Paradise closely correspond with Zoroastrian teaching about the Daena. The question, however, is whether the name حور is of Iranian origin. Berthels thinks not.² Haug, however, suggested its equivalence with the Zoroastrian 𐬥𐬀𐬭𐬀 *hūmat*, good thought (cf. Av 𐬥𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀𐬭𐬀, Skt सुमन्), 𐬥𐬀𐬭𐬀 *hūxt*, good speech (cf. Av 𐬥𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀𐬭𐬀, Skt सूक्त), and 𐬥𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀𐬭𐬀 *hūvarsht*, good deed (cf. Av 𐬥𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀𐬭𐬀),³ but the equivalences are difficult, and as Horovitz, *Paradise*, 13, points out, they in no way fit in with the pre-Islamic use of حور. Tisdall, *Sources* 237 ff., claims that حور is connected with the modern Pers حور *sun* from Phlv 𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 *xvar*⁴ and Av 𐬥𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀𐬭𐬀 *havarə*,⁵ but this comes no nearer to explaining the Qur'anic word.

It is much more likely that the word comes from the Phlv 𐬥𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬀𐬭𐬀 *hurūst*, meaning *beautiful*, and used in the Pahlavi books of the beauteous damsels of Paradise, e.g. in *Arda Virāf*, iv, 18, and in

¹ *Het Islamisme* 3 ed. 1880 p. 101

² Das Wort *Hur* dürfen wir natürlich ebensowenig in den iranischen Sprachen suchen

³ The three words occur together in *Pand namak* xx. 12-13. Cf. Nyberg *Glossar* 109-110

⁴ Horn *Grundriss* pp. 111-112. *Shikand* Glossary 255

⁵ Bartholomae *AIW* 1847. Reichelt *Awestisches Elementarbuch* 512 cf. Skt

Hādōxt Nask, II, 23,¹ where we have the picture of a graceful damsel, white-armed, strong, with dazzling face and prominent breasts. Now **سودور** is a good Iranian word, the equivalent of Av **سودا**

hūraōda,² and though these Pahlavi works are late the conceptions in them are early and there can be no question of borrowing from the Semitic.

To this Iranian conception we may now add the influence of the Aram **סור**. Sprenger was doubtless right in his conjecture³ that

the root **حور** to be white came to the Arabs from Aramaic. The Heb

סור occurs in Is xxix, 22, in the sense of becoming pale through shame, and Syr **ܣܘܪ** is commonly used to translate λευκός, and is thus used for the white garments of the Saints in Rev iii, 4. Carra de Vaux,⁴ indeed, has suggested that Muhammad's picture of the youths and maidens of Paradise was due to a misunderstanding of the angels in Christian miniatures or mosaics representing Paradise. This

may or may not be so, but it does seem certain that the word **حور** in its sense of whiteness, and used of fair skinned damsels, came into use among the Northern Arabs as a borrowing from the Christian communities, and then Muhammad, under the influence of the Iranian **سودور**, used it of the maidens of Paradise.

حَاتِم (*Khātam*)

xxxiii, 40

A seal

The passage is late Madīnan and the word is used in the technical phrase **حاتم السبيل**

On the surface it would seem to be a genuine derivative from **حَتَمَ** to seal, but as Fraenkel, *Vocab*, 17, points out, a form **فَاعَلَ** is

¹ See also *Minokhird* II 125-139 for the idea.

² Bartholomae *AIW* 1836

³ *Leben* II 222. He thinks it may have come to the Arabs from the Nabataeans.

⁴ Art 'Djanna in *EI* I 1015

not regular in Arabic, and the verb itself, as a matter of fact, is denominative ¹ The verb occurs in the Qur'ān in vi, 46, xlv, 22, and the deriva-

tive حَتَمَ, which Jawharī says is the same as حَامَ, is used in lxxxiii,

26 All these forms are in all probability derived from the Aram as Noldeke had already noted ²

Hirschfeld, *Beiträge*, 71, claimed that the word was of Jewish origin, quoting the Heb חותם *seal*, Syr ܡܫܠܡܐ In his *New Researches*, 23, he quotes Haggai ii 23, a verse referring to Zerubbabel, which shows that the idea of a man being a seal was not foreign to Jewish circles, beside which Horovitz, *AU*, 53, appositely cites 1 Cor ix, 2, "ye are the seal of my Apostleship"—σφραγίς μου τῆς αποστολῆς, where the Peshitta reads ܡܫܠܡܐ The Targumic חתמה and Christian Palestinian ܡܫܠܡܐ,³ meaning *obsignatio, finis, conclusio, clausula*, give us even closer approximation to the sense of the word as used in the Qur'an

In the general sense of *seal* it must have been an early borrowing, for already in Imru ul Qais, xxxii, 4 (Ahlwardt, *Divans*, p 136), we find the plu حواتم used, and in the S Arabian inscriptions we have 𐩣𐩬𐩨𐩢 (Rossini, *Glossarium*, 158)

حُرْ (Akhubz)

xii, 36

Bread

It occurs only in the baker's dream in the Joseph story

The word is from the Eth as Noldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, 56, has noted, pointing out that bread is an uncommon luxury to the Arabs, but literally the staff of life among the Abyssinians, and therefore a word much more likely to have been borrowed by the Arabs than from them 𐩣𐩬𐩨 is to *bake* in general, and to *bake bread* in particular, 𐩣𐩬𐩨𐩢 is a *baker* as e.g. in the Joseph story, and 𐩣𐩬𐩨𐩢𐩣 is *bread*, the 𐩨 being modified to 𐩨 before 𐩣, and was probably earlier *𐩣𐩬𐩨𐩢𐩣,

¹ Fraenkel *Fremdw* 252 The variant forms of the word given in the *Sihah* and in *LA* xv 53 also suggest that the word is foreign

² Mand Gramm 112 see also Pallis *Mandaean Studies* 153

³ Schwally *Idioticon* 36 It translates επισφραγισμα Land *Anecdota* iv 181 l 20 Cf Schulthess *Lex* 71 Used of sealing magically it occurs in the incantation texts see Montgomery *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* Glossary pp 289 290

as is indicated by the common Tigre word **ኣብዛት** used for a popular kind of bread. It was probably an early borrowing into Arabic, for the root has become well naturalized and many forms have been built from it.

حَرْدَل (Khardal)

xxi, 48, xxxi, 15

A mustard seed

Both passages are reminiscent of the *ὡς κόκκον σινάπεως* of Matt xvii, 20, etc.

The Muslim authorities take it as an Arabic word, though they are in some doubt as to whether it should be **حَرْدَل** or **حَرْدَل**. Fraenkel, *Fremdw*, 141, has shown, however, that the word is a borrowing from Aram **ܚܪܕܠ**, Syr **ܡܪܕܠ**. The probabilities are in favour of its being from the Syr **ܡܪܕܠ**, which as a matter of fact translates *σίναπι* in the Peshitta text of Matt xvii, 20, etc., and occurs also in Christian Palestinian¹. The borrowing will have been early for the word is used in the old poems e.g. *Divān Hudhail*, xcvi, 11.

حَرَائِي (Khazāna)

vi, 50, xi, 33, xii, 55, xv, 21, xvii, 102, xxxviii, 8, li, 37, lxiii, 7

Treasury, storehouse

The verb **حَرَّ** does not occur in the Qur'ān, but besides **حَرَائِي** (which occurs, however, only in the plu. form **حَرَائِي**), we find a form **حَارِي** "one who lays in store" in xv, 22, and **حَرَائِي** keepers in xxxix, 71, 73, xl, 52, lxvii, 8.

It is fairly obvious that **حَرَّ** is a denominative verb, and the word has been recognized by many Western scholars as a foreign borrowing². Its origin, however, is a little more difficult to determine. Hoffmann,

¹ Schulthess *Lex* 69

² Fraenkel in *Beitr Assy* iii, 81. Vollers *ZDMG* l 640. Horowitz *Paradies* 5 n

ZDMG, xxxii, 760,¹ suggested that we should find its origin in the Pers **کُتَح** This **کُتَح** which BQ defines as **ر و کوهری که** **در رمین دوی کسد**, is cognate with Skt **गङ्ग** (= **गीङ्ग**) a *treasury* or *jewel room*,² and has been borrowed through the Aram **ܕܢܐܢܐ**, Syr **ܕܢܐܢܐ** into Arabic as **کَر** It seems hardly likely that by another line of borrowing, through say Heb **גָּזִיזִים**³ or Mand **ܕܢܐܢܐ**,⁴ it has come to form the Ar **حَرَاة**

Barth, *Etymol Stud*, 51, makes the happier suggestion that it may be connected with the form that is behind the Heb **חֶסֶן** *treasure*

حَطِي (*Khatī a*)

To do wrong, sin

Several verbal and nominal forms from this root occur in the Qur'ān, e g **حَطَأَ** *by mistake* (iv, 94), **أَخْطَأَ** *to be in error, to sin* (ii 286, xxxiii, 5), **حَاطِي** (xxviii, 7, lxix, 37), **حِطَأَ** *sin, error* (xvii, 33), **حَاطِيَّة**, plu **حَطَايَا** *sin, error* (ii, 55, 75, iv, 112, etc), and **حَاطِيَّة** *habitual sinfulness* (lxix, 9, xcvi, 16)

The primitive meaning of the Semitic root was apparently to *miss*⁵ as in Heb **חָטָא** (cf Prov viii, 36, **חָטָא נַפְשׁוֹ** "he who misses me wrongs himself"), and in the Eth **ሐጥ** *to fail to find* The Hiphil form in Heb is used of markmanship, and **חָטָא** in S Arabian seems to have the same meaning, as we may judge from two inscriptions given by Levy in ZDMG, xxiv, 195, 199 (cf also Rossini, *Glossarium*, 155) It was from this sense of missing the mark that there developed the idea of *to sin*, which is the commonest use

¹ Cf also his *Martyrer* 250

² It is probably a loan word in Skt Lagarde *GA* 27 and *Arm Stud* § 453 thinks it is an old Median word

³ Cf Esth iii 9 iv 7 **גָּזִיזִים**

⁴ Fraenkel *Beitr Assy* iii 181, takes it to be from Aram

⁵ But see Zimmern *Akkad Fremdw* 11

of the verb in Heb and the only meaning it has in Aram¹ It was doubtless under Aram influence that it gained a similar meaning in Eth,² and there is little doubt that it came into Arabic as a technical term from the same source It occurs very rarely in the old poetry,³ though the casual way in which the term is used in the Qur'ān shows that it must have been well understood in Mecca and Madīna⁴

The Muslim authorities take **حظيه** as a form **فعيلة**, but as Schwally notes (ZDMG, li, 132), its form like that of the Eth **ḥiḥ**⁵ is proof conclusive that the borrowing of this form is direct from the Syr **ܚܝܚܐ**, and doubtless the other Arabic forms are due to influence from the same source⁶

حَلَقَ (*Khalāq*)

ii, 96, 196, iii, 71, ix, 70

A portion or share

As a technical term for the portion of good allotted man by God this term occurs only in Madīnan passages In Sūra ix, it refers to man's portion in this world, and in Sūras ii and iii to man's portion in the life to come, the two latter passages indeed, as Margoliouth, *MW*, xviii, 78, notes, being practically a quotation from the Talmud (cf Sanh, 90a, **אין להם חלק לעולם**)

It seems clear that it is a technical term of non-Arabic origin, for though the primitive sense of **حلق** is to *measure* (cf Eth **ḥiḥ** to *enumerate*), its normal sense in Qur'ānic usage is to *create*, and this Madīnan use of **حلاق** in the sense of *portion* follows that of the older religions Thus **חלקה** is a portion given by God, cf Job xx, 29, and Aram **ܚܘܠܩܐ** means a portion in both worlds (cf *Baba Bathra*, 122a, and Buxtorf, *Lex* 400) Syr **ܚܠܩܐ** means rather *lot or fate* i.e. **μοῖρα** as in **ܚܠܩܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ** = *μοῖρα θανάτου*,

¹ And now also in the Ras Shamra tablets

² Pratorius *Beitr Ass* i 29

³ Examples occur in Abu l Atahya (ed 1888) p 120 and in Qais b ar Ruqaiyat xviii 3 (ed Rhodokanakis p 129)

⁴ But see Wensinck in *El* ii 925

⁵ Noldeke, *Neue Beitrage* 36

⁶ Mingana *Syriac Influence* 86

though in the Christ Palest dialect **ܡܥܠܐ** means *portion*, i.e. *μέρος*¹

It is noteworthy that the Lexicons, which define it as **الحط** **والصيب من الخير والصلاح**,² seem to interpret it from the Qur'ān, and the only verse they quote in illustration is from Hassān b Thābit, which is certainly under Qur'anic influence Horovitz, *JPN*, 198 ff, thinks that the origin is Jewish, but Phon **חלק** is also *to divide, apportion* (Harris, *Glossary*, 102), so that the word may have been used in the Syro Palestinian area among other groups

ܚܡܪ (*Khamr*)

ii, 216, v, 92, 93, xii, 36, 41, xlvii, 16

Wine

The word is very commonly used in the old poetry, but as Guidi saw,³ it is not a native word, but one imported along with the article

The Ar **ܚܡܪ** means *to cover, to conceal*, and from this was formed

ܚܡܐܪ *a muffler*, the plu of which, **ܚܡܐܪܐ**, occurs in Sūra xxiv, 31

In the sense of *to give wine to*, it is denominative⁴

Its origin was doubtless the Aram **ܚܡܪܐ** = Syr **ܚܡܪܐ** which is of very common use The Heb **חמר** is poetical (*BDB*, 330) and probably of Aram origin⁵ It is also suggestive that many of the

other forms from **ܚܡܪ** are clearly of Aram origin, e.g. **ܚܡܪܐ** *leaven*,

gives **ܚܡܪܐ** *ferment, leaven*, and Arm **ܚܡܪܐ** *yeast*⁶, **ܚܡܪܐ** *a*

wineseller is **ܚܡܪܐ**, **ܚܡܪܐ** is **ܚܡܪܐ**, etc

The probabilities are all in favour of the word having come into Arabic from a Christian source, for the wine trade was largely in the hands of Christians (*vide supra*, p 21), and Jacob even suggests that

¹ Schulthess *Lex* 65 and cf *Palestinian Lectionary of the Gospels* p 126

² *LA* xi 380

³ *Della Sede* 597 and note Bell *Origin* 145

⁴ Fraenkel *Fremdw* 161

⁵ We now have the word however in the Ras Shamra texts

⁶ Lagarde *Arm Stud* § 991 Hübschmann *ZDMG* xlv 238 and *Arm Gramm*

Christianity spread among the Arabs in some parts along the routes of the wine trade¹ Most of the Arabic terms used in the wine trade

seem to be of Syriac origin, and **حَمْر** itself is doubtless an early borrowing from the Syr **ܚܡܪ**

ܚܢܙܝܪ (*Khunzīr*)

ii, 168, v, 4, 65, vi, 146, xvi, 116

Pig, swine

It occurs only in late passages and always in the list of prohibited foods, save in v, 65, where it refers to certain infidels whom God changed into apes and swine

No explanation of the word from Arabic material is possible,² and Guidi, *Della Sede*, 587, was suspicious of the word Fraenkel's examination of the word, *Fremdw*, 110, has confirmed the suspicion and indicated that it is in all probability a loan word from Aramaic³ The dependence of the Qur'ānic food regulations on Biblical material has been frequently noticed,⁴ and in Lev xi, 7, we find **חזיר** among the forbidden meats In Aram the word is **ܚܢܙܝܪ** and in Syr **ܚܡܪ**, and only in S Arabian do we find the form with *n* e g Eth **ḥnzr** (also **ḥnz** or **ḥnz**, cf Eth Enoch, lxxxix, 10) meaning *wild boar* (though it is rare in Eth, the usual word being **ḥz**), and Sab **ḥnz** (Ryckmans, *Noms propres*, i, 38)

It is possible of course that the Arabic word was derived from Eth, but the alternative forms in Eth make one suspect that the borrowing was the other way, so it is safest to assume that the borrow

ing was from Aram with a glide sound **ن** developed between the

ح and **ر**⁵ (Fraenkel, 111), which also appears in the **חזיר** of the Ras Shamra texts

¹ *Beduinenleben* 99 Fraenkel *Fremdw* 181 notes the curious fact that in early Arabic the commonest word for merchant viz **تاجر** has the special significance of wine merchant on which D H Muller remarks *WZKM* i 27 'sie zeigt dass die Civilization im Alterthum wie heute erst mit der Einfuhrung berausender Getränke begonnen hat

² Vide the suggestions of the Lexicographers in Lane *Lex* 732

³ But see Lagarde *Übersicht* 113 and the Akk *ḥumsuru* (Zimmern *Akkad Fremdw* 50)

⁴ Cf Rudolph *Abhängigkeit* 61 62

⁵ That this inserted *n* was not infrequent in borrowed words is illustrated by Geyer *Zuer Gedichte* i 118 n

حَمِيمَة (Kharima)

lv, 72

Tent, pavilion

It is found only in the plu حِيَام in an early Meccan description of Paradise, where we are told that the Houries are مقصورات في الحيام "kept close in pavilions"

The word is obviously not Arabic, and Fraenkel, *Fremdw*, 30, though admitting that he was not certain of its origin, suggested that it came to the Arabs from Abyssinia¹ Eth ሳፎሳፍ means *tentorium, tabernaculum* (Dillmann, *Lex*, 610), and translates both the Heb אהל and Gk σκηνη Vollers, however, in *ZDMG*, I, 631, is not willing to accept this theory of Abyssinian derivation,² and thinks we must look to Persia or N Africa for its origin The Pers

حيمه and حيام, however, are direct borrowings from the Arabic³ and not formations from the root حى meaning *curvature*

We find the word not infrequently in the early poetry, and so it must have been an early borrowing, probably from the same source as the Eth ሳፎሳፍ

دَاوُد (Dāwūd)

II, 252, IV, 161, V, 82, VI, 84, XVII, 57, XXI, 78, 79, XXVII, 15, 16, XXXIV, 10, 12, XXXVIII, 16-29

David

In the Qur'ān he is mentioned both as King of Israel and also as a Prophet to whom was given the Zabūr زبور (Psalter)

¹ In S Arabian we have 𐩦𐩣𐩪 which is said to mean *domus modesta* (Rossini *Glossarium* 155)

² Zelt ist mir verdächtig ohne dass ich mit Sicherheit die fremde Urform angeben kann Die Erklärung schwankt in den Einzelheiten ursprünglich primitivste Behausung scheint es allmanlich mit س Zelt gleichbedeutend geworden zu sein Dass es durch ath *haimat* als echt semitisch erwiesen wird kann ich Fränkel nicht zugeben denn viele Entlehnungen sind auf den Sudan beschränkt geblieben Man muss an Persien oder Nordostafrika denken

³ Vollers *Lex Pers* I 776

al Jawālīqī, *Mu'arrab*, 67, recognized the name as foreign and his statement is repeated in Rāghīb, *Mufradāt*, 173, *LA*, iv, 147, etc. It was even recognized as a Hebrew name as we learn from Baiḍ who, speaking of Tālūt, says, هو علم عريّ كداود, "it is a Hebrew proper name like David"

In two passages of the Qur'ān (xxi, 80, xxxiv, 10) we are told that he was an armourer and as such he is frequently mentioned in the old poetry,¹ so the name obviously came to the Arabs from a community where these legends were circulating, though this may have been either Jewish or Christian. It was also used as a personal name among the Arabs in pre-Islamic days, for we hear of a Phylarch Dā'ūd al Lathīq of the house of Dajā'ima of the tribe of Sālih² there appears to have been a contemporary of Muhammad who fought at Badr, named داود داود,³ and possibly the name occurs in a Thamudic inscription⁴

The form of the name presents a little difficulty, for the Heb is דָּוִד or דָּוִיד, and the Christian forms follow this, e.g. Gk. Δαυειδ, Syr. ܕܘܕܝܐ or ܕܘܕܝܐ, Eth. ዳዊት. There is a Syr form ܕܘܕܝܐ used by Bar Hebr., *Chron*, 325, but *PSm*, 801, is probably right in thinking that this was influenced by the Arabic. Horovitz, *KU* 110, discusses the change in form from Dāwid to Da'ūd,⁵ and on the whole it seems safest to conclude that it came to Arabic from some Aramaic source, though whether Jewish or Christian it is impossible to say.

دَرَسَ (Darasa)

iii, 73, vi, 105, 157, vii, 168, xxxiv, 43, lxxviii, 37

To study earnestly

Always used in the Qur'ān of studying deeply into or searching the Scriptures, and the reference is always directly or indirectly to the Jews and Christians⁶. On this ground Geiger, 51, claimed that here

¹ Vide examples in Fraenkel *Fremdw* 242 Horovitz *KU* 109 *JPN* 166 167

² Yaquṭ *Mu jam*, iv 70 and vide Noldeke *Ghassanischen Fürsten* p 8

³ Vide Ibn Hisham 505 Ibn Sa'd, iii b 74 and Wellhausen *Waqidi* p 88

⁴ Ryckmans *Noms propres* i 65

⁵ Vide also Rhodokanakis in *WZKM* xvii 283

⁶ Taking v 37 of Sura lxxviii to be late as seems evident from the use of کاب

we have a technical word for the study of Scripture borrowed from the root **שׁוּרַף** so widely used in this connection by the Jews

Geiger's suggestion has had wide acceptance among Western scholars,¹ and it is curious that some of the Muslim philologists felt the difficulty, for as Suyūṭī, *Itq*, 320, and in the *Muhaddhab*, tells us that some considered it to be Heb., and in *Mutaw*, 56, he quotes others as holding it to be Syriac Syr **ܬܪܦܐ** does mean *to train, to instruct*, and Eth **ṣṣḥ** *to interpret, comment upon*, whence **ṣṣḥ** and **ṣṣḥ** *commentary*, but neither of these is so likely an origin as the Jewish **שׁוּרַף**,² which, as Buxtorf, *Lex*, 297, shows, is the commonest word in the Rabbinic writings in connection with the exposition of Scripture, and which must have been commonly used among the Jewish communities of Arabia.³

دِرْهَم (*Dirham*)

xii, 20

A dirham

Only the plu form **دَرَاهِم** is found in the Qur'an, and only in the Joseph story

It was commonly recognized by the philologists as a borrowed word al Jawālīqī, *Mu'arrab*, 66, notes it,⁴ and ath Tha'ālībī, *Fīqh*, 317, includes it in his list of words common to Persian and Arabic. There was some doubt as to the vowelling of the word, however, the authorities

varying between **دِرْهَم**, **دِرْهَم** and **دِرْهَم** or **دِرْهَام** (cf *LA*, xv, 89)

The ultimate origin is the Gk *δραχμή*,⁵ which passed into Syr as **ܕܪܚܡܐ**. Some, however, would derive *δραχμή* from a Semitic source. Boissacq suggests this, and Levy, *Fremdw*, 118, connects it

¹ Fraenkel *Vocab* 23 Fleischer *Kleinere Schriften*, ii 122 Sprenger *Leben* ii 289 Hirschfeld *Beiträge* 51 *New Researches* 28

² Eth **ṣṣḥ** and **ṣṣḥ** are themselves derived from the Heb. Noldeke *Neue Beiträge*, 38 Horovitz *JPN* 199

³ Rhodokanakis *WZKM* xvii 285 thinks that in **دِرْهَم** here we have a combination of **דַּרְשׁ** and **דָּרַם** 'Zur Radix **דַּרְשׁ** ist nachzutragen, dass in ihr **דַּרְשׁ** und **דָּרַם** (v Levy) zusammenfielen. Daher einerseits die Bedeutung *studieren* andererseits *arbeiten* abnutzen

⁴ So al Khafajī 83 *LA* xv 89

⁵ Fraenkel *Vocab* 13 *Fremdw* 191

with Heb דַּרְכֶּמֶן (Phon דַּרְכֶּמֶן)¹ beside אֶדְרֶכֶן, which is the Persian gold Daric, the Gk δαρεικός, and the Cuneiform *da ri ku*, which appears in Syr as ܕܪܝܟܐ Liddell and Scott, however, are doubtless right in deriving it from δρασσομαι and meaning originally "as much as one can hold in the hand", then a measure of weight and lastly a coin. This δραχμή passed into Iranian first as a measure of weight and then as a coin. In Phlv we find the ideograms 𐭌𐭎 *dram* and 𐭌𐭎𐭕 *draχm* meaning a silver coin,² or sometimes *money* in general,³ which is the origin of the Mod Pers درم and درم and the Arm դրամ,⁴ and may be assumed as the source of the Ar درم also.⁵

It was doubtless an early borrowing from the Mesopotamian area, for it occurs in the old poetry, e g 'Antara xxi, 21 (Ahlwardt, *Divans*, p 45)

دِهَاقٌ (*Dihāq*)

lxxviii, 34

Full

It occurs only in an early Meccan passage descriptive of the delights of Paradise, where, besides an enclosed garden and full bosomed virgins, the blessed are promised كَأْسًا دِهَاقًا

The Commentators are agreed that it means *full* and there is considerable agreement that it is to be derived from دَهَقَ to press

¹ Lidzbarski *Handbuch* 257 Harris *Glossary* 96 cf also Aram דַּרְכֶּמֶן in Cook *Glossary* 41

² PPGI 105 and 110 Nyberg *Glossar* 58 Šayast *Glossary* 160 Frahang *Glossary* 78 Haug thinks this of Babylonian origin but Hubschmann rightly derives

it from a form **drahm* from δραχμη and then compares Av 𐬔𐬭𐬎𐬌 *taxma* cf *Arm Gramm* 1 145 *Pers Stud* 251

³ e g in the Dadistan i Dīnik cf West *Pahlavi Texts* II 242

⁴ Hübschmann *Arm Gramm* 1 145

⁵ Vullers *Lex* 1 832 840 Vullers, *ZDMG* li 297 and Addai Sher 62 though some statements of the latter need correction

They are not very happy over the form, however, for كَأْس is fem and we should expect دَهَاقة not دَهَاق Exactly the same form, however, is found in a verse of Khidāsh b Zuhair—

أَنَا عَامِرٌ يَرْحُو قَرَانَا وَأَتَرَعْنَا لَهُ كَأْسًا دَهَاقًا

“There came to us ‘Āmir desiring entertainment from us, so we filled for him a full cup”

so Sibawayh suggested that it should be taken not as an adj to كَأْسًا but as a verbal noun ¹

There is ground, however, for thinking that the word is not Arabic at all ² Fraenkel, *Fremdw*, 282, would relate it to כָּחַק, which we find in Heb כָּחַק to crowd, oppress, thrust, Aram כָּחַק, Syr ܕܡܥܕ to crowd, squeeze, which is the Ar دَحَقَ to drive away, expel The change of ܟ to ܕ he would explain as Mesopotamian Thus كَأْسًا دَهَاقًا would mean “a cup pressed out”, referring to the wine pressed to fill the cup

دِينَ (Dīn)

Of very frequent occurrence Cf 1, 3, 11, 257, etc

Judgment, Religion, and in ix, 29, verbally “to make profession of faith”

In the Qur'ān we find also دَيْنٌ a debt, that which one owes (cf iv, 12, 13, 11, 282), and مَدِينٌ for one who receives payment of a debt (xxxvii, 51, lvi, 85), besides the verb تَدَايَنَ “to become debtors to one another” (ii, 282) These, however, are later developments of the word within Arabic

The Muslim authorities usually treat it as an Arabic word (cf

¹ Vide LA xi 395 396

² Horovitz *Paradies* 11 says Auch die Herkunft von دَهَاق ist unsicher

Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 175), and derive it from دَانَ “to do a thing as a habit”, but this verb seems to be denominative from دِينَ in the sense of *obedience*, which, like مَدِينَة and دِيَان (ie مَدِينَة and دِيَان), is a borrowing from the North, connected with Akk *dānu*, Heb דִּין, Syr ܕܝܢ. There was a suspicion among the philologists, however, that it was a foreign word, for LA, xvii, 27, notes that some authorities admitted that it had no verbal root, and al Khafajī, 90 and ath Tha'alibī, *Fiqh*, 317, include it in their lists of foreign words

As a matter of fact we have here two separate words of different origin ¹ (i) In the sense of *religion* the word is a borrowing from Iranian. In Phlv we find 𐭠𐭥𐭭 *dēn* meaning *religion*,² from which come 𐭠𐭥𐭭𐭥𐭭 *dēnāk* for religious law, 𐭠𐭥𐭭𐭥𐭭𐭥𐭭 *ham dēn*, of the same religion,³ and 𐭠𐭥𐭭𐭥𐭭𐭥𐭭 *dēnān*, used in the sense of “the religious”, i.e. true believers. This Phlv 𐭠𐭥𐭭 is derived from Av 𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌 *daēnā*, *religion* ⁴ (though this itself is probably derived from the Elamutish *dēn*),⁵ and besides being the origin of the Mod Pers دین,⁶ was borrowed into Arm as դէն meaning *religion*, *faith* (and also *law* ⁷ in the sense of a “religious system”, e.g. դէն մազդէական = 𐭠𐭥𐭭𐭥𐭭𐭥𐭭𐭥𐭭 the Mazdian religion or Law) (ii) In the sense of *Judgment* it is a borrowing from the Aramaic. Thus we find in common use the Rabbinic דִּינָא, Syr ܕܝܢܐ, and Mand ܕܝܢܐ, all meaning *judgment* and, indeed, the judgment of the last day ⁸

From the Aramaic the word passed into S Arabian ڤڤڤ and

¹ Noldeke in ZDMG xxxvii 534. See also Von Kremer *Streifzüge* p vii and Ahrens *Christliches* 28 34

² PPGI 110 *Sāyast* Glossary 160 and the *den* of the Turfan Pahlavi. Salemann *Manichaean Studien* 1 67. For the borrowing cf. Noldeke Schwally 1 20 Vollers ZDMG 1 641. Noldeke *Mand Gram* 102

³ Cf. the Av 𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌 West Glossary 35

⁴ Bartholomae AIW 662 Horn *Grundriss* 133 cf. also the Pazend edini = irreligion

⁵ But see Bartholomae AIW 665 and Zimmern *Akkad Fremdw* 24 who derives it from Akk *dē(=)nu*

⁶ Addai Sher 69 discusses its meaning. Curiously enough it is given by the Lexicons as a borrowing from Arabic cf. Vollers, *Lex*, 1, 956 but see Bartholomae AIW 665

⁷ Hübschmann *Arm Gramm*, 1 139

⁸ Montgomery *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur*, Glossary p 285

Eth 𐩦𐩣𐩪 with its verbal forms 𐩦𐩣𐩪 and 𐩠𐩦𐩣𐩪 (and Amharic *judge*, Tigrīña 𐩦𐩣𐩪 *judge*), into Iranian, where we find the Phlv ideogram 𐭠𐭮 *dēnā* = *judgment, decree*,¹ and also into Arabic² As used in the Qur'ān it closely corresponds to Jewish use, in fact the constantly occurring يوم الدين so exactly corresponds with the Rabbinic יום דינא = יום הדין that on the surface it seems obviously a borrowing from Jewish sources The fact, however, that in Syriac, besides ܕܢܐ meaning *judgment*, we have also a ܕܝ meaning *religion*, borrowed from the Iranian (Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*, 151b), giving us the same double usage as in Arabic, makes the probabilities seem in favour of the borrowing having been from a Christian source³ In any case it was an early borrowing for it is found not uncommonly in the early poetry⁴

دِينَار (Dīnār)

III, 68

A dīnār

The name of a coin, the Lat *denarius*, Gk *δηνάριον* The Muslim authorities knew that it was a loan word and claim that it came from Persian, though they were not unanimous about it al-Jawālīqī, *Mu'arrab*, 62, whose authority is accepted by as Suyūṭī,⁵ gives it as Arabicized from the Pers دینار, but ath Tha'alibī, *Fiqh*, 317, places it among the words which have the same form in both Arabic and Persian as Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, I, 139, places it among the words about which the philologists were in doubt, and Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 171, while quoting the theory that it is of Pers origin compounded from دین and آَر,⁶ yet gives his own opinion that it is from دینار and an Arabic word Similarly the

¹ *Frahang Glossary* p 79

² Hirschfeld *Beitrage* 44 Noldeke *Neue Beitrage* 39 Fraenkel *Vocab* 22

³ Mingana *Syriac Influence* 85 Horovitz *KU* 62

⁴ See references in Horovitz op cit Cheikho *Nasranīya* 171

⁵ *Itq* 320 *Mutaw* 46 vide also al Khafajī 86

⁶ Vide Vullers *Lex* I 25 and 56 Dvořák, *Fremdw*, 66, points out that the late Greek explanations of the word take it to be from *din ar*, i.e. δεκαχάλκον cf Steph *Thesaurus*, II 1094 το δεκαχάλκον οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο δηνάριον or the even more ridiculous το τα δεινα αἰρεῖν παρεχόμενον

Lexicons differ The *Qāmūs* says plainly that it is a foreign word like قراط and دياح which the Arabs of old did not know and so borrowed from other peoples *TA*, III, 211, says that the authorities were uncertain—واحتلمت في أصله, and Jawharī tries to explain it as an Arabic word

The form دينار seems an invention to explain the plu دماير though it may be intended to represent the Phlv 𐭥𐭮𐭥 *dēnār*, used for a gold coin in circulation in the Sasanian empire,¹ and which is the origin of the Pers دينار The Phlv 𐭥𐭮𐭥, however, is not original, and the oft suggested connection with the Skt दीनार, a gold coin or gold ornament, is hardly to the point, for this is itself derived from the Gk *δηνάριον*,² and the Phlv word was doubtless also borrowed directly from the Greek

δηνάριον from the Lat *denarius* was in common use in N T times, and occurs in the non literary papyri³ The Greeks brought the word along with the coin to the Orient in their commercial dealings, and the word was borrowed not only into Middle Persian, but is found also in Arm 𐭥𐭮𐭥𐭥,⁴ in Aram ܕܝܢܪ which occurs both in the Rabbinic writings (Levy, *Wörterbuch* I, 399, 400) and in the Palmyrene inscriptions (De Vogue, *Inscr*, VI, 3 = *NSI*, No 115, p 273),⁵ and in Syr ܕܢܪ The *denarius aureus*, i.e. the *δηνάριον χρυσοῦν*, became known in the Orient as simply *δηνάριον*, and it was with the meaning of a gold coin that the word came into use in Arabic⁶

Now as it was coins of Greek and not of Persian origin that first came into customary use in Arabia we can dismiss the suggested Persian origin Had the word come directly from Greek, however,

¹ *PPGI* 110 *Karnamak* II 13 *Šayast Glossary* 160

² Monier Williams *Sanskrit Dictionary* 481

³ Kenyon *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* II 306 The term *denarius* replaces that of *drachma* which was regularly in use before the time of Diocletian the Neronian *denarius* reintroduced by Diocletian being reckoned as equivalent to the *drachma* and as 𐅵𐅹𐅶 of a talent

⁴ Hübschmann *Arm Gramm* I 346 Brockelmann in *ZDMG* XLVI 11

⁵ The actual form is ܕܝܢܪܝܢ with the Aram plu ending

⁶ Zambaur in *EI* I 975 thinks that the shortened form of the name became current in Syria after the reform of the currency by Constantine I (A D 309–319)

we should expect the form **ديارون**, and the actual form **ديار** suggests an Aram origin, as Fraenkel had noted ¹ It was from the Syr **ܕܝܪܐ** that the Eth **𐤃𐤓𐤃** was derived,² and we may assume that the Arabic word was also taken from this source ³ It was an early borrowing as it occurs in the old poetry

دَكِي (*Dhakkā*)

v, 4

To make ceremonially clean

Only once does this word occur, and then in a very late Madīnan passage giving instruction about clean and unclean meats Muslims are here forbidden to eat that which dieth of itself, blood, flesh of swine, that which has been offered to strange gods, anything strangled or gored or killed by an accident or by a beast of prey—"save what you have made ceremonially clean"—**إِلَّا مَا دَكَيْتُمْ**—the reference being, the Commentators tell us, to the giving of the death stroke in the orthodox fashion to such maimed or injured beasts ⁴

This whole passage is obviously under Jewish influence (cf Lev xi, 7, xvii, 10, 15, etc), and Schulthess *ZA*, xxvi, 151,⁵ has suggested that the verb **دَكِي** here is a borrowing from the Jewish community In Bibl Heb **זָכַה** (P₁) means "to make or keep clean or pure",⁶ but the Aram **ܕܚܐ**, **ܕܚܐ** mean "to be ritually clean", and the Pa **ܕܚܐ** is "to make ritually clean", giving us precisely the form we need to explain the Arabic The Syr **ܕܚܐ** has the same meaning, but as the distinctions of clean and unclean meats meant little to the Christians, the probabilities are in favour of a Jewish origin

¹ *Vocab 13 Fremdw 191*

² Nöldeke *Neue Beiträge* 41 but see p 33 where he suggests a possible direct borrowing from the Greek

³ Mingana *Syriac Influence* 89

⁴ Wellhausen *Reste* 114 n 4

⁵ Wahrscheinlich ist aber dieses letzere **دَكِي** irgendwie jüdischen Ursprungs

⁶ Note also Phon **ܕܚܐ** Harris *Glossary* 99

رَاعَا (*Rā'inā*)

11, 98, 117, 48

The reference is the same in both passages—"say not *rā'inā* but say *unzurnā*" The Commentators tell us that the Jews in Arabia used to pronounce the word راعا, meaning "look at us", in such a way as to relate it with the root رَعى *evl*, so Muhammad urged his followers to use a different word اطروا *behold us*, which did not lend itself to this disconcerting play on words¹

Hirschfeld, *Beiträge*, 64, thinks the reference is to ראהנא or ראנו occurring in connection with some Jewish prayer, but it is much more likely that the statement of the Commentators is correct and that as Geiger, 17, 18, noted,² it is a play on רע and ראה, and reflects the Prophet's annoyance at the mockery of the Jews

رَبَّ (*Rabb*)

Occurs very frequently, e.g. 1, 1

Lord, master

The root رَبَب is common Semitic, probably meaning *to be thick*, as illustrated by Ar رَب to increase, رَب thick juice, the Rabbinic רֶבֶב grease, beside the Eth לָחַץ to expand, extend The sense of great, however, which is so common in Heb and Aram, and from which the meaning Lord has developed, does not occur in Ar or in Eth save as a borrowing³ This sense seems to have developed in the N Semitic area, and Margoliouth, *ERE*, vi, 248, notes that رَب meaning Lord or Master must have been borrowed from the Jews or Christians

The borrowing was probably from Aram for it was from an Aram source that the word passed into Middle Persian, as witness the Phlv ideogram 𐭠𐭣𐭥 *rabā* meaning great, venerable, splendid (PPGL,

¹ as Suyutī *Itq* 320 quoting Abu Na'im s *Dala'il an Nubuwwa* Cf *Mutaw* 59

² Vide also Palmer *Qoran* 1 14 and Dvořák *Fremdw* 31 Horovitz *JPN* 204

³ It occurs however in Sab 𐩦𐩣𐩪 though this, like Eth 𐤀𐤊 and 𐤀𐤊𐤍 may be from the Aram Torrey, *Foundation* 52 claims that رَب is purely Arabic

190, *Frahang*, Glossary, 106), which occurs as early as the Sasanian inscriptions, where  is synonymous with the Pazend  *vazurg*¹ We find  very frequently in the Aramaic inscriptions, e.g.  “chief of the market”,  “chief of the army”,  “camp master”, etc.² though its use in connection with deities is rarer,³ names like  meaning “El is great” rather than “El is Lord”. The special development of its use with God was in the Syriac of the Christian communities, and as Sprenger, *Leben*, 1 299, suggests, it was doubtless under Syr. influence that Muhammad uses it as he does in the Qur'ān⁴ It was commonly used, however, both of human chieftains and of the deity in pre-Islamic days, as is evident from the old poetry, and from its use in the inscriptions (Ryckmans, *Noms propres*, 1, 196, Rossini, *Glossarium*, 235)

رَبَّائِي (Rabbānī)

III, 73, v, 48, 68

Rabbi

The passages are all late, and the reference is to Jewish teachers, as was recognized by the Commentators. Most of the Muslim authorities take it as an Arabic word, a derivative from  (cf. *TA*, 1, 260, Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 183, and Zam. on III, 73). Some however, knew that it was a foreign word, though they were doubtful whether its origin was Hebrew or Syriac.⁵

As it refers to Jewish teachers we naturally look for a Jewish origin, and Geiger, 51, would derive it from the Rabbinic  , a later form of  used as a title of honour for distinguished teachers,⁶

¹ West *Glossary* 133 Herzfeld *Parkuh* Glossary 240

² See Cook *Glossary* under the various titles. So Phon.  Cf. Harris *Glossary* 145

³ Though in the S. Arabian inscriptions we find  etc. (see Ryckmans *Noms propres* 1 248) and there is a similar use in the Ras Shamra tablets

⁴ Hirschfeld *New Researches* 30 however argues that the dominant influence was Jewish. See also Horovitz *JPN* 199 200

⁵ Vide al Jawalīqī *Mu'arrab* 72 as Suyūṭī *Itq* 320 *Muzhīr* 1 130 al Khafajī 94

⁶ Hirschfeld *Beiträge* 51 n. says Muhammad ermahnt die Rabbinen (rabbani) sich nicht zu Herren ihrer Glaubensgenossen zu machen sondern ihre Würde lediglich auf das Studium der Schrift zu beschränken, vgl. ix 31. Vide also von Kremer *Ideen* 226 n.

so that there grew up the saying גדול מרבי רבן "greater than Rabbi is Rabbān" The difficulty in accepting רבאנא as a direct derivative from רבן, however, is the final י, which as Horovitz, *KU*, 63, admits, seems to point to a Christian origin In Jno, xx, 16, Mk, x, 51, we find the form ραββουνεί (ο λέγεται Διδάσκαλε) or ραββωνει, which seems to be formed from the Targumic רבון,¹ and it was this form that came to be commonly used in the Christian communities of the East, viz Syr ܪܒܬܐ, Eth ፪ብ፪, Arm 𐎼𐎠𐎼𐎡𐎴² The Syr ܪܒܬܐ was very widely used, and as Pautz, *Offenbarung*, 78, n 4, notes, ܪܒܬܐ was commonly used for a *doctor* of learning, and the dim ܪܒܬܐ was not uncommonly used as a title of reverence for priests and monks, so that we may conclude that the Qur'anic word, as to its form, is probably of Syriac origin³

رِبْح (Ribh)

ii, 15

To be profitable

A trading term which Barth *Etymol Stud*, 29 (but cf Torrey *Commercial Theological Terms*, p 44) has equated with the Jewish ארווח It seems more likely, however, to have come from the Eth ፪ብ፪ *lucrari, lucrifacere*,⁴ which is very commonly used and has many derivatives, e.g ፪ብ፪፪፪ *a business man* ፪ብ፪ *gain*, ፪ብ፪ *profit bearing*, etc, which are among the commonest trading terms It is thus probably a trade term that came to the Arabs from Abyssinia, or may be from S Arabia (cf Ryckmans, *Noms propres*, i, 196, Rossini, *Glossarium*, 236)

رِبْيُون (Ribbīyūn)

iii, 140

Myriads

¹ Dalman *Worte Jesu* 267 and see his *Grammatik des jüd paläst Aramaisch* p 176

² Hubschmann *Arm Gramm* i 376 *ZDMG* xlv 251

³ Mingana *Syriac Influence* 85 agrees but see Horovitz *JPN* 200

⁴ Fraenkel in *Beit Ass* iii 74 says that Noldeke suggested this derivation but I cannot locate the reference

The passage is a late Madīnan one encouraging the Prophet in his difficulties

as Suyūṭī, *Itq*, 321, says that certain early authorities considered it a Syriac word, and this is probably correct Syr ܕܨܝܬܐ, the plu of ܕܨܝܬܐ meaning *myriads*, translates both *μυρίοι* and *μυριάδες* of the LXX ¹

رُحْرُ (Ruhz)

lxxiv, 5

Wrath

The Sūra is an early one, and in this passage the Prophet is urged to magnify his Lord, purify his garments, and flee from the wrath to come—والرحر فاهجر

It is usual to translate the word as *abomination* or *idolatry* and make it but another form of رُحْرُ, which occurs in ii, 56, vii 131, etc (cf *LA*, vii, 219, Rāghīb, *Mufradāt*, 186, and the Commentaries) There was some feeling of difficulty about the word however, for Zam thought the reading was wrong and wanted to read رَحْر instead of رُحْر and as Suyūṭī, *Itq* 311, would explain it as the form of رَحْر in the dialect of Hudhail

It seems probable, however, as Bell, *Origin*, 88, and Ahrens *Muhammed*, 22, have suggested, that the word is the Syr ܕܨܝܬܐ *wrath*, used of the “wrath to come”, e g in Matt iii, 7 ² (Fischer *Glossar* 43, says Aram ܕܨܝܬܐ)

رَحِيمٌ (Rāḥīm)

iii, 31, xv, 17, 34, xvi, 100, xxxviii, 78, lxxxi, 25

Stoned, pelted, driven away by stones, execrated

We find it used only of Satan and his minions, and it is said to

¹ Cf also the Mandaean ܕܨܝܬܐ Noldeke *Mand Gramm* 190

² Vide also 1 Thess i 10 and Lagarde *Analecta Syriaca* p 8 l 19

derive from the tradition that the demons seek to listen to the counsels of Heaven and are pelted away by the angels ¹ (cf Sūra lxvii, 5)

The Muslim authorities naturally take it as a pure Arabic word, a form **فَعِيل** from **رَحِمَ**, which is used several times in the Qur'ān. As a technical term associated with Satan, however, it would seem to be the Eth **𐤒𐤓𐤕**, and mean *cursed* or *execrated* rather than *stoned*. **𐤒𐤓𐤕** means *to curse* or *execrate* and is used of the serpent in Gen iii, 14, and of those who are delivered over to the fire prepared for the devil and his angels in Matt xxv, 41. Ruckert, in his notes to his translation of the Qur'ān (ed A Muller, p 440),² had noted this connection with the Eth and Noldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, 25, 47, thinks that Muhammad himself in introducing the Eth word **𐤒𐤓𐤕** = **شیطان** introduced also the epithet **𐤒𐤓𐤕**, but not knowing the technical meaning of the word treated it as though from **رحم** = **𐤒𐤓**, **دهد** *to stone* ³ (Cf Ahrens, *Christliches*, 39)

الرَّحْمَنُ (Ar Rahmān)

Occurs some fifty six times outside its place in the superscription of the Sūras

The Merciful

It occurs always as a title of God, almost as a personal name for God ⁴

Certain early authorities recognized the word as a borrowing from Hebrew. Mubarrad and Tha lab held this view, says as Suyūṭi, *Itq*, 321. *Mulaw*, 58, and it is quoted from az Zajjāj in *LA*, xv 122.

The root **رحم** is common Semitic, and several Arabic forms are used in the Qur'ān, e g **رَحِيمٌ**, **رَحْمَةٌ**, **رَحِمَ**, **رَحِمَهُ**, **رَحِمَ**, **رَحِمَهُ**, **رَحِمَهُ**, **رَحِمَهُ**.

¹ There is, however reason to believe that the epithet belongs to a much older stratum of Semitic belief in regard to demons cf Wellhausen *Reste* 111

² See also Müller's statement in *ThLZ* for 1891, p 348

³ Wellhausen *Reste* 232. Pautz *Offenbarung* 49. Margoliouth *Chrestomathia Bardawana* 160. Praetorius, *ZDMG* lxi, 620 ff. argues against this derivation but unconvincingly. See also Van Vloten in the *Feestbundel aan de Goeje* pp 35-42 who thinks that it was used in pre-Islamic Arabia in connection with pelting snakes

⁴ Sprenger *Leben* ii, 198

but the form of **رحمى** is itself against its being genuine Arabic Fraenkel, *Vocab*, 23, pointed out that **רחמנא** occurs in the Talmud as a name of God (e.g. **אמר רחמנא** "saith the all-merciful"), and as Hirschfeld, *Beiträge*, 38, notes, it is also so used in the Targums and in the Palmyrene inscriptions (cf *NSI*, p. 300, *RES*, II, 477). In the Christian Palestinian dialect we find **رحمى**, which is the equivalent of the Targumic **מרחמן** and in Lk vi, 36, translates *οικτίρμων*,¹ and in the S Arabian inscriptions **رحمى** occurs several times² as a divine name³.

There can be little doubt that it was from S Arabia that the word came into use in Arabic,⁴ but as Noldeke Schwally, I, 113, points out, it is hardly likely to have originated there and we must look else where for the origin⁵ Sprenger, *Leben*, II, 198-210, in his discussion of the word, favours a Christian origin,⁶ while Hirschfeld, *Beiträge*, 39, insists that it is of Jewish origin, and Rudolph, *Abhängigkeit*, 28, professes to be unable to decide between them⁷. The fact that the word occurs in the old poetry⁸ and is known to have been in use in connection with the work of Muhammad's rival Prophets, Musailama of Yamama⁹ and al Aswad of Yemen¹⁰ would seem to point to a Christian rather than a Jewish origin, though the matter is uncertain.

رَحِيقٌ (*Rahīq*)

lxxxiii, 25

Strong wine

¹ Schwally *Idioticon* 88 Schulthess *Lex* 193 and see Wellhausen *ZDMG* lxxvii 630

² Muller *ZDMG* xxx 672 Osiander *ZDMG* x 61 *CIS* iv No 6 and particularly Fell in *ZDMG* liv 252 who gives a list of texts where it occurs

³ Halévy *JA* viii sér xx 326 however takes it as an adjective and not as a divine name (Note also Ahrens *Christliches* 35 Ryckmans *Noms propres* i 31)

⁴ Grimme *ZA* xxvi 161 Bell *Origin* 52 Lidzbarski in *SBAW* Berlin 1916 p 1218

⁵ Halévy *REJ* xxiii in discussing the inscription thinks that it is of purely pagan origin See also Margolouth *Schweich Lectures* 67 ff

⁶ So Pautz *Offenbarung* 171 n, and vide Fell *ZDMG* liv 252 Mingana *Syriac Influence* 89

⁷ So Massignon *Lexique*, 52 Sacco *Credenze* 18 apparently agrees with the Jewish theory See also Horovitz *JPN* 201-3

⁸ *Dir Hudh* (ed Wellhausen) clxv 6 *Mufaḍḍahyat* (ed Thorbecke) 34 l 60 al Aḥsa *Duan* lxi 8

⁹ at Tabari *Annales* i 1933-7 Ibn Hisham 200

¹⁰ Beladhorn 105 l 6

The passage is early Meccan describing the delights of Paradise

The word is an unusual one and the Lexicons do not know quite what to make of it. They admit that it has no root in Arabic, and though they are agreed that it refers to some kind of wine, they are uncertain as to the exact meaning or even the exact spelling, i.e. whether it should be رَحِيق or رَحَاق (cf. *LA*, xi, 404) ¹

Ibn Sīda was doubtless not far from the mark when he said that it meant عَتِي. That old, well matured wine was a favourite among the ancient Arabs, Fraenkel, *Fremdw*, 171, has illustrated by many examples from the old poetry, and I suspect that رَحِي is the Syr. ܪܫܝܐ = Aram ܪܫܝܐ *far, remote*,² which was borrowed as an ideogram into Phlv as ܪܫܝܐ *old, antique* (*PPGL*, 192)

رِزْق (Rizq)

Of very frequent occurrence, cf. ii, 57, xx, 131

Bounty

It means anything granted to another from which he finds benefit, and in the Qur'an refers particularly to the bounty of God, being used frequently as almost a technical religious term

Besides the noun رِزْق we find in the Qur'ān the verb

(ii, 54, etc.), the part رَارِق, he who provides (v, 114, etc.), and الرَّارِق the Provider, one of the names of God. The verb, of course, is denominative and the other forms have developed from it

It has long been recognized by Western scholarship that the word is a borrowing from Iranian through Aramaic. Phlv ܪܫܝܐ *rōčik* means *daily bread* ³ (cf. Paz *rōzī*) from ܪܫܝܐ *rōc*, *day*, the Mod

¹ It occurs in the old poetry. Cf. Labid (ed. Chalidi p. 33) and D. H. Muller *WZKM*, i, 27 notes its occurrence in the South Arabian inscriptions

² But note the S. Arabian ܪܫܝܐ *remotus* and Eth ܪܫܝܐ (Rossini *Glossarium* 240)

³ Vide *Shiland Glossary* p. 266

Pers روز, which is connected with Av 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬌 *raocah*, *light*,¹
 O Pers *rauša*, *day*,², Skt रोच *shining, radiant* The Phlv 𐩣𐩪𐩣𐩪𐩥𐩢𐩪
 was borrowed into Arm as *ռաժիկ* *daily provision*, and then *bread*,³
 and Syr ܪܘܫܐ *daily ration*,⁴ which translates τροφαι in 1 Macc
 1, 35, and also *stipendium* (ZDMG, xl, 452) In Mod Pers by regular
 change of و to ی we get روری *daily need*, e g روری حور “eating
 the daily bread”

It was from the Syr that the word came into Arabic,⁵ and thence
 was borrowed back into Pers in Islamic times as ورق⁶ It was an
 early borrowing and occurs frequently in the old poetry

رَقَّ (Raqq)

lu, 3

A volume, or scroll of parchment

The Lexicons take the word from رَقَّ to be *thin* (LA, xi, 414),
 which is plausible enough, but there can be little doubt that it is
 a foreign word borrowed from the Eth,⁷ where 𐤠𐤫 means *parchment*
 (*charta pergamena, membrana*, Dillmann, *Lex*, 284), which translates
 μεμβραναι in 2 Tim iv, 13 It was an early borrowing and occurs
 many times in the old poetry

(Ar Raqīm)

xviii, 8

Ar Raqīm is mentioned at the commencement of Muhammad's
 version of the story of the Seven Sleepers The Commentators present

¹ Bartholomae *AIW* 1489

² Spiegel *Die altpers Keilinschriften* 238

³ Hubschmann *Arm Gramm* 1 234

⁴ Noldeke *ZDMG* xxx 768 Lagarde *GA* 81

So Lagarde op cit Ruckert *ZDMG* x 279 Fraenkel *Vocab* 25 Pautz
Offenbarung 164 n 4 Siddiqi *Studien* 56

⁵ Lagarde op cit Vullers *Lex* 11 28

⁷ Fraenkel *Fremdu* 246 𐤠𐤫 is from 𐤠𐤫𐤫 to be *thin* cf 𐤠𐤫𐤫 and 𐤠𐤫 so
 that 𐤠𐤫𐤫 corresponds to 𐤠𐤫

the widest divergences as to its meaning. Some take it as a place name, whether of a village, a valley, or a mountain. Some think it was a document, a **كتاب** or a **لوح**. Others consider it the name of the dog who accompanied the Sleepers. Others said it meant an inkhorn, and some, as Ibn Duraid, admitted that they did not know what it meant.

Their general opinion is that it is an Arabic word, a form **وميل** from **رقم**, but some, says as Suyūṭī, *Itq*, 321, said that it was Greek, meaning either *writing* or *inkhorn* in that tongue.

The probabilities are that it is a place name, and represents **دصد دلا**, otherwise known as **دصد دلا دز**, a place in the desert country of S. Palestine,¹ very much in the same district as the Muslim geographers place **الرقيم**.^{2 3}

رُمَان (*Rummān*)

vi, 99, 142, lv, 68

Pomegranate

The generally accepted opinion among the Muslim authorities is that it is a form **رمان** from **رم** (cf. Raghīb, *Mufradāt*, 203), but some had considerable doubts about it as we see from *LA*, xv, 148, and Jawharī, sub voc.

Guidi, *Della Sede*, 582, noted it as a loan word in Arabic, and Fraenkel, *Fremdw*, 142, suggested that it was derived from the Syr

ܪܡܢ, the Arabic form being built on the analogy of **تماح**. As the

¹ Cf. the Targumic **רָמָן דְּנִיעָא**.

² Ibn Athīr *Chron* xi 259. Yaḳūt *Muḡam* ii 804.

³ Torrey in *Ajeb Nameh* 457 ff. takes **רָמָן** to be a misreading of **דָּקִים** and to refer to the Emperor Decius who is so prominent in the Oriental legends of the Seven Sleepers. Such a misreading looks easy enough in the Heb. characters but is not so obvious in Syr **ܪܡܢ** and **ܪܡܢ** and as Horowitz *KU* 95 points out it does not explain the article of the Arabic word. Horowitz also notes that names are carefully avoided in the Qur'ānic story save the place name **الكمب** which is at least a point in favour of *Raqīm* being also a place name. (Torrey's remarks on Horowitz's objection will be found in *Foundation* 46-47.)

Eth 𐩣𐩬𐩨 and the Phlv ideogram 𐭪𐭫𐭮 *rōramnā* or 𐭪𐭫𐭮 *romanā*,¹

are of Aram origin we may assume the same for Ar 𐩂𐩣𐩬, but the ultimate origin of the word is still uncertain.² It occurs in Heb as 𐤂𐤌𐤍, in Aram 𐩂𐩣𐩬 and 𐩂𐩣𐩬, as well as Mandaean 𐩂𐩣𐩬,³ but appears to be non-Semitic.⁴ Horovitz, *Paradies*, 9, thinks that if it is true that the pomegranate is a native of Socotra we may have to look in that direction for the origin of the word. It is, of course, possible that it is a pre Semitic word taken over by the Semites (See Laufer, *Sino Iranica*, 285)

رَوْصَة (Rauda)

xxx 14, xlv, 21

A rich, well watered meadow, thence a luxurious garden (*LA*, ix, 23)

Both passages are late Meccan and refer to the blissful abode of the redeemed

There can be little doubt that the word was borrowed as a noun into Arabic, and from it were then formed رَوْصَ “to resort to a

garden”, رَاوَصَ “to render a land verdant”, اَوْرَصَ “to abound in gardens”, etc. As some of these forms occur in the early literature the borrowing must have been an early one

Vollers, *ZDMG*, I, 641, 642, noted that the word is originally Iranian, and he suggested that it was from the Iranian √ *rud*, meaning to grow.⁵ The Av 𐬰𐬭𐬀 *raod* means to flow,⁶ from which comes

¹ *PPGI* 198 *Frahang* Glossar p 105 and Noldeke *Neue Beiträge* 42

² Low *Aramäische Pflanzennamen* 310 says Etymologie dunkel and see Zimmern *Akkad. Fremdw.* 54

³ Noldeke *Mand. Gramm.* 123 Lidzbarski *Mandaische Liturgien* p 218

⁴ Hommel *Aufsätze* 97 ff *BDB* 941 a foreign word of doubtful origin

رَوْصَة ist ohne Etymologie zur Bedeutung ist hier nur daran zu erinnern dass es in der Nomadensprache jeden grünen Fleck in oder Umgebung bezeichnet Mit dem alten Sprachgebrauch deckt sich noch jetzt nach meiner Erfahrung genau die Sprache 7 B der Sinaibeduinen Ich glaube nicht fehl zu gehen wenn ich, 𐩂 aus p √ *rud* wachsen erkläre

⁶ Bartholomae *AIW* 1495 Reichelt *Awestisches Elementarbuch* 493

راوداه *raodah* a river,¹ and راود *raoda*, growth (cf Skt रोह, *rising, height*), also meaning *stature*² From the same root comes Phlv رڍ a lake or riverbed,³ and the Pers رود commonly used for river, e.g. رود فرات the Euphrates The Phlv word is important, for the Lexicons tell us (cf Tha'lab in *LA*, ix, 23) that water was an indispensable mark of a روضة Thus the conclusion would seem to be that the Arabs learned the Phlv رڍ⁴ in the Mesopotamian area and used it for any well watered or irrigated land

الرُّومُ (*Ar Rūm*)

xxx, 1

The Byzantine Empire

It is the common name for the Byzantine Greeks, though also used in a wider sense for all the peoples connected or thought to be connected with the Eastern Roman Empire (cf *TA*, viii, 320)

A considerable number of the early authorities took it as an Arabic word derived from رام *to desire eagerly*, the people being so called because of their eagerness to capture Constantinople (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, ii, 862) Some even gave them a Semitic genealogy—*LA*, xv, 150, and Yāqūt ii, 861 Others, however, recognized the word as foreign, as e.g. al Jawālīqī, *Mu'arrab*, 73, who is the authority followed by as Suyūṭī, *Itq*, 321⁵

The ultimate origin, of course, is Lat *Roma*, which in Gk is Ῥώμη, which came into common use when ἡ Νεὰ Ῥώμη as distinguished from ἡ πρεσβυτέρα Ῥώμη became the name of Constantinople

¹ Horn *Grundriss* 139 Bartholomae *AIW* 1495 Cf the O Pers *rauta* = river which is related to Gk *puois*, *puros*

² *PPGI* 198

³ *PPGI* 198, cf Av رڍو *urud* riverbed from the root *raod* (Reichelt *Avestan Reader* 266) and Pazend *rōd* Phlv رڍ a river (*Shikand* Glossary, 265)

⁴ Addai Sher 75 wants to derive روضة from Pers ريز which seems to be wide of the mark

⁵ So *Mutaw* 47 which classes it among the borrowings from Persian

after it had become the capital of the Empire Naturally the name travelled eastward, so that we find Syr ܙܝܪܐ , ܙܝܪܐ beside ܙܝܪܐ , ܙܝܪܐ , Arm 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 or 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥¹ , Eth 𐩣𐩣𐩣 , Phlv 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥² , Arum³ , Skt रोम , and the *hrem* of the Turfan texts⁴

The word may have come directly from the Greek into Arabic through contacts with the Byzantine Empire such as we see among the Ghassanids, or it may be as Mingana, *Syriac Influence*, 98, thinks, that it came through the Syriac⁴ It is at any rate significant that ܙܝܪܐ occurs not infrequently in the Safaitic inscriptions, cf Littmann, *Semitic Inscriptions*, 112 ff , Ryckmans, *Noms propres*, 1, 315, 369, and also in the old poetry, cf the *Mu'allaga* of Tarafa, l 23 (Horovitz, *KU*, 113), and is found in the Nemara inscription (*RES*, 1, No 483)

زَادَ (*Zād*)

11, 193

Provision for a journey

In the same verse occurs the denominative verb تَزَوَّدَ, to provide oneself for a journey

This may be genuine Arabic as the Muslim savants without exception claim On the other hand, Zimmern, *Akkad Fremdw*, 39, suggests that it may have had a Mesopotamian origin There is an old Babylonian *zādūtu*, beside Akk *zādūtu*, meaning the money and other provisions necessary for a journey, and from this in all probability came the Heb צִידָה in the sense of provisions for a journey or a march, as in Gen xli, 25, etc (see *BDB*, 845) , and Aram ܙܝܪܐ , Syr ܙܝܪܐ , Palm 𐤆𐤌 with the same meaning

From some Aramaic form the word would then have passed into Arabic, probably at a quite early period, and then the verbal forms were built up on it in the ordinary way

¹ Hubschmann *Arm Gramm* 1 362

Dinkard § 134 in the Bombay edition p 157 l 8 of the Pahlavi text See also Justi's Glossary to the *Bundahesh* p 62 *Shikand* Glossary 231 Herzfeld *Parkuh* Glossary 194

³ Henning *Manichaica* 11 70

⁴ *Vide* also Sprenger *Leben* 111 332 n

رَبَائِيَّة (Zabānīa)

xcvi, 18

The guardians of Hell

They are said to be strong and mighty angels, and the name is usually derived from رَفَعَ to *push, thrust* (Bagh on the passage) We see from Zam, however, that the philologists have some difficulty in explaining the form

Vollers, *ZDMG*, li, 324, suggested a connection with Akk *zabāntu* meaning *balances*, and Addai Sher, 77, wants to derive it from Pers

رَبَاه *blaze, tongue of fire* from Phlv زَبَان *zūbān*, a tongue¹ It seems, however as Andrae, *Ursprung*, 154, points out, to be connected with the Syr دُحْدُوح, the *ductores* who, as Ephraem Syrus tells us,² lead the departed souls to judgment

رُؤُور (Zabūr)

iv, 161, xvii, 57, xxi, 105

The Psalter

Always the Book of David, and xxi, 105, given as a quotation therefrom, is from Ps xxxvii, 29

The early authorities were not certain as to whether the word was to be read رُؤُور or رُؤُور, though they agree that it is from رَوَى to *transcribe* (Tab on iv, 161, Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 210, as Sijistānī, 166, Jawharī, i, 324) The plu رُؤُور, as a matter of fact, is used in the Qur'ān of Scriptures in general (e g xxvi, 196, liv, 43, etc), and once of the Books of Fate (liv, 52), so that there is on the surface some colour to the claim that رُؤُور may be from رَوَى to *transcribe*

It is obvious, however, that the word must somehow have arisen as a corruption of some Jewish or Christian word for the Psalter,

¹ West's *Glossary* 150 and 50 *PPGI* 130 Cf Horn *Grundriss* 144

² *Opera*, iii 237 244 Grimme *Mohammed* 1892 p 19 n thinks that some old name of a demon lies behind the word

its form being doubtless influenced by the genuine Arabic رر (Ahrens, *Christliches*, 29) Some have suggested that it is a corruption of זמרה a Psalm or chant,¹ used, e g, in Ps lxxvi, 3, xcvi, 5 the ז and ב being to some extent interchangeable in Arabic Fraenkel, *Fremd wörter*, 248, however, thinks it more likely that it originated in a misunderstanding of מזמור, which occurs also in Syr ܡܙܡܘܪ and Eth 𐩢𐩣𐩠𐩣𐩠𐩢𐩣² Barth, *Etymol Stud*, 26, suggested a connection between ספר and رر,³ but Schwally, *Idioticon*, 129, rightly rejects this solution

When we remember the early use of در beside رر and the fairly frequent use of رر in the early poetry in the general sense of a writing,⁴ it seems simplest to think of some confusion made between derivatives from these roots and the מזמור or ܡܙܡܘܪ in use among Jews and Christians, so that even in pre Islamic days رر came to be used by a popular derivation for the Psalter⁵

رُحَاة (Zujāja)

xxiv, 35

A glass vessel

There was some uncertainty as to the vowelling of the word, whether رُحَاة, رَحَاة or رَحَاة The philologers attempt to derive it from رَح though they do not suggest how it can be explained from this root⁶ Fraenkel, *Fremdw*, 64, showed that it

¹ Hirschfeld *Beitrage* 61 supports a Jewish origin

² See Hórovitz *JPN* 205 206

³ Cf Fraenkel in *Beitr Ass* iii 74

⁴ Vide Imru ul Qais in Ahlwardt *Divans* 159 160 an Namri in *Aghani* xii 18 and other passages in Horovitz *KU* 69 ff Cheikho *Nasraniya* 184 and *Al Machriq* xvi 510

⁵ Cf al Uqaili in *IA* viii 55 and the verses of the Jewish poet quoted by Hirschfeld Margoliouth *ERE* x 541 supports the solution suggested above and vide Vollers *ZDMG* li 293 Torrey *Foundation* 34 takes it to be an example of the Judæo Arabic dialect spoken by the Jews of Arabia

⁶ *LA* iii, 112

has no verbal root in Arabic, and suggested that it is the Aram **ܙܘܚܪܝܬܐ**, Syr **ܙܘܚܪܝܬܐ** meaning *glass* or *crystal*. The Syr word is early and quite common, and it was probably when the Arabs came to use glass that they took over the word along with the article

زُخْرُف (Zukhruf)

vi, 112, x, 25, xvii, 95, xliii, 34

Anything highly embellished

As used in the Qur'ān it means ornamentation, though Ibn Sida says that its primitive meaning was *gold*, and then any gilded decoration, and then decoration in general. There appears to be no occurrence of the word earlier than the Qur'an, though it may well have been an early word.

It seems to be a deformation from the Syr **ܙܘܚܪܝܬܐ** = Aramaic **ܙܘܚܪܝܬܐ**,¹ meaning a bright scarlet colour much used for adornment. It is used for the scarlet curtains of the Tabernacle in Ex xxvi, 1, and for the *χλαμυς κοκκίνη* of Matt xxvii, 28. The interchange of **ز** and **ر** is not a great difficulty, cf Praetorius, *Beit Ass*, i, 43, and Barth in *ZDMG*, xli, 634.

زَرَابِي (Zarābī)

lxxxviii, 16

Rich carpets

Plu of **زَرَابِيَّة** or **زَرَابِيَّة** occurring only in an early description of Paradise. The word occurs not infrequently in the early literature and the exegetes have a clear idea that it means fine wide carpets, but their explanations of the form are confused² (cf Raghib, *Mufradāt*, 211).

Fraenkel, *Fremdw*, 92, thought that it was from the Syr **ܙܘܪܐܝܬܐ** to *check, stop*, though it is difficult to see how this can explain its meaning.

¹ Addai Sher 77 would derive it from Ptrs **ܙܘܪܐܝܬܐ** *ornamentation* but there seems nothing in favour of this.

² The fact would seem to be that **زَرَابِيَّة** is a later formation and that the form that was borrowed was **زَرَابِي** which as a matter of fact is the only form that occurs in the oldest texts.

He notes, however, that Geo Hoffmann would derive it from the Pers **زریا** *under the foot*,¹ which looks more likely, and which Horovitz, *Paradies*, 15, thinks possible, though if it is Persian it would seem more likely that it is connected with some formation from Phlv **זררן** *zarrēn*, golden as in **זררן פֶּסֶט** *zarrēn pēsūt* (West, *Glossary*, 148)² The most likely origin, however, is that suggested by Noldeke, *Neue Beitrage*, 53, that it is from the Eth **ዘርብ** *carpet* Noldeke admits the possibility that the borrowing may have been the other way,³ and one is inclined to derive both the Ar and Eth words from an Iranian source, but at present there is not sufficient evidence to decide what this source is

زَكَرِيَّا (Zakariyyā)

iii 32, 33, vi, 85, xix, 17, xxi, 89

Zachariah

Always as the father of John the Baptist,⁴ though in iii, 32, he is the elder who reared Mary from childhood, an idea dependent of course on *Protevangelion*, viii, 4

There are variant spellings of the word, **زكريا**, **زكريا**, and **زكري** (Tab on iii, 32), and the early authorities recognized the name as foreign, al Jawālīqī, *Mu'arrab*, 77⁵ The probabilities seem to be that it came into Ar from Syr **ܙܚܪܝܐ**⁶ We find **זאכריא** in Mandaean,⁷ but there seems reason to believe that this form, like Yahyā for Yohannī, has been influenced by Arabic (Brandt, *ERE*, viii, 380) The name apparently does not occur in the early literature,⁸ though it must have been well known to Arabian Christians in pre Islamic times

¹ Vullers *Lex* ii 168 169

² Addai Sher 77 also argues for a Persian origin but he wants to derive it from **زَرَّاب** meaning yellow water

³ So Kraenkel op cit

⁴ It is remotely possible that in the list of Prophets in vi 85 it refers to someone else but its close connection there with the name Yahya would seem to indicate that the same Zachariah is meant as is mentioned in the other passages

⁵ So al Khafajī 99

⁶ Rhodokanakis *WZKM* xvii 285 Horovitz *KU* 113 Mingana, *Syriac Influence* 82

⁷ As in the *Liber Adamī* (ed Norberg) and *Ginza* (tr I idzbarski), 51, 213, 219

⁸ Horovitz rightly rejects the examples collected by Cheikho 232

رَكِي (Zakā)

Of frequent occurrence in many forms

To be pure

The three forms which particularly concern us are رَكِي (cf xxiv, 21), رَكِي (ii, 146, iv, 52, xci, 9), and تَرَكِي (xx, 78, lxxxvii 14)

The primitive meaning of the Arabic ركا is *to grow, to flourish, thrive*, as is recognized by the Lexicons (cf *LA*, xix, 77, and Raghīb, *Mufradāt*, 212)¹ This is the meaning we find in the earliest texts, e.g. *Hamāsa*, 722, 11, Labid (ed Chalidī), etc, and with this we must connect the أَرَكِي of ii, 232, xviii, 18, etc, as Noldeke notes² In this sense it is cognate with Akk *zakū*, *to be free, immune*³, Aram אכא *to be victorious*, Syr ܐܬܐܝܬܐ, etc

In the sense of *clean, pure*, however, i.e. رَكِي, رَكِي, and تَرَكِي, it is obviously a borrowing from the older religions⁴ Heb אכא (like Phon אכא) is *to be clean or pure in the moral sense*, and its forms parallel all the uses in the Qur'ān So the related Aram אכא, אכא, and אכא, Syr ܐܬܐܝܬܐ, ܐܬܐܝܬܐ, and ܐܬܐܝܬܐ mean *to be clean* both in the physical and in the moral sense The Arabic equivalent of these forms, of course, is دكا *to be bright*, and so there can be little doubt that رَكِي used in its technical religious sense was borrowed from an Aramaic form It is, of course, difficult to decide whether the origin is Jewish or Christian Noldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, 25, n, Schulthess, *ZA*, xxvi, 152, and Torrey, *Foundation*, 141, favour a Jewish origin, but Andrae, *Ursprung*, 200, points to the close parallels between Muhammad's use of the word and that which we find in contemporary

¹ And see Hurgronje *Verspreide Geschriften*, ii p 11

² *Neue Beiträge* 25 n

³ Zimmern *Akkad Fremdw* 25

⁴ Grimme *Mohammed* 1892 p 15 tried to prove that رَكِي for Muhammad meant *to pay legal alms (Zakat)* but this is far fetched as Hurgronje *RHR* xxx 157 ff pointed out It is true however that in his later years Muhammad did associate justification before God with almsgiving (Bell *Origin*, 80 see also Ahrens *Christliches*, 21, Horovitz *JPN* 206 ff)

Syriac literature,¹ so that there is ground for thinking that it came to him from Christian sources

زَكَاةٌ (Zakāt)

ii, 40, 77, 104, 172, 277, iv, 79, etc

Legal Alms Occurs only in Madinan passages

Naturally the Muslim authorities explain this word from زَكَاةٌ, and tell us that an Alms is so called because it purifies the soul from meanness, or even because it purifies wealth itself (cf Baiḍ on ii, 40, etc),² though some sought to derive it from the primitive meaning of *to increase* (see Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 212, and the Lexicons)

Zakāt, however, is another of the technical religious terms taken over from the older faiths Fraenkel, *Vocab*, 23, suggested that it was from the Aram זכות The primary sense of זכות, זכותא is *purtas, innocentia*, from which developed the secondary meaning of *meritum* as in the Targum on Ruth iv, 21, but it does not seem that זכותא, or its Syr equivalent ܙܚܬܐ, ever meant *alms*, though this meaning could easily be derived from it Fraenkel is inclined to believe that the Jews of Arabia had already given it this meaning before Islam—"sed fortasse Iudaei Arabici זכות sensu eleemosynarum adhibuerunt" (so Torrey, *Foundation*, 48, 141) Noldeke, however (*Neue Beiträge*, 25), is inclined to believe that the specializing of the word for alms was due to Muhammad himself³

زَنْجَبِيلٌ (Zanjabīl)

lxxvi, 17

Ginger

¹ Vide also Bell *Origin* 51 It is possible that the Phlv ܕܚܝܬܐ *dahia* of PPGL 104 may be from the same origin *Irahang* Glossary p 87
² The origin of this idea of course is in the Qur'an itself of ix 104
³ See also Bell *Origin* 80 Schulthess in ZA xxvi 150 151 Ahrens *Muhammed* 180 Von Kremer *Streifzüge* p xi Horovitz JPN 206 Wensinck, *Joden* 114, says Men zal misschien vragen of tot de Mekkaansche instellingen niet de zakat behoort En men zou zich voor deze meening op talrijke Mekkaansche openbaringen kunnen beroepen waar van zakat gesproken wordt Men vergete echter niet dat het woord zakat زَكَاةٌ het Joodsche זכות verdienste beteekent Deze naam is door de Arabische Joden of door Mohammed uitsluitend op het geven van aalmoezen en daarna op de aalmoes zelf toegepast

It occurs only in a passage descriptive of the delights of Paradise, where the exegetes differ as to whether Zanjābīl is the name of the well from which the drink of the Redeemed comes, or means the spice by which the drink is flavoured (*vide* Tab, Zam, and Baiḍ on the passage and *LA*, xiii, 332)

There was fairly general agreement among the early authorities that it was a Persian word ath-Tha'ālibī, *Fiqh*, 318, and al Jawāliqī, *Mu'arrab*, 78, give it in their lists of Persian loan words, and their authority is accepted by as Suyūṭī, *Itq*, 321, *Mutaw*, 47, and al Khafajī, 99

The Mod Pers word for ginger is شکلیل (Vullers, *Lex*, ii, 472, cf also ii, 148) from Phlv **𐭮𐭩𐭥𐭭𐭮𐭥** *singaβēr*,¹ which is the source of the Arm **սնգրուկ**,² and the Syr **ܣܢܓܠܝܐ**, Aram **ܣܢܓܠܝܐ**.³ The ultimate source seems to have been the Skt **शृङ्गवेर**,⁴ Pali *ṣṇḡwēra*, from which comes the Gk **ζιγγίβερης**.⁵ There can be little doubt that the word passed into Arabic from Syr and was thence borrowed back into Persian in Islamic times.⁶ It occurs in the early poetry⁷ and so was evidently an early borrowing

رَوْح (Zawj)

Occurs frequently in many forms, cf ii, 33

A pair, species, kind, sex, couple, companion, spouse

It is a very early loan word in Arabic from Gk **ζεύγος** through

¹ So Vullers *Lex* ii 148 and cf *Pahlavi Texts* ed Jamasp Arana p 31

² Hubschmann *Arm Gramm* i 238

³ From which was then derived the form **ܣܢܓܠܝܐ** Levy *Wörterbuch* i 345

⁴ Yule (*vide* Yule and Burnell *Hobson Jobson* ed Cooke 1903 p 374) thought that the Skt **शृङ्गवेर** was a made up word and that as the home of the plant is in the Malabar district we should look for the origin of the word in the Malayalam **ഇഞ്ചി** *inchi* meaning root (cf Tamil **இஞ்சி** *inji* Sinhalese **හංඳුරු** *inguru*), but there is the equal probability that these are all derived from the Skt **शृङ्ग** a horn See however Laufer *Sino Iranica* 545 583

⁵ This then became **ζιγγίβερης** and through the Lat *gingiber* became the Middle English *gingevir* and our *ginger* From **ζιγγίβερης** came the Syr **ܣܢܓܠܝܐ** and other forms (Low *Aramäische Pflanzennamen* p 138)

⁶ Fraenkel *Vocab* ii Pautz *Offenbarung* 213 Horovitz *Paradies* ii Addai Sher 80

⁷ See Geyer *Zwei Gedichte* i, 57, ii 83 Jacob, *Bedutenleben*, 258

the Aram[✓] The verbal forms رَوَّحَ, etc., with this meaning are clearly denominative, the primitive root راح meaning "to sow discord between" In the Qur'an we have many forms—رَوَّحَ to marry, to couple with, رَوَّحَ plu ارواح a wife or husband (human), رَوَّحَ kind, species, رَوَّحَان a pair, رَوَّحَ sex

No Muslim authority, as Fraenkel notes (*Fremdw*, 107), has any suspicion that the word is other than genuine Arabic, but no derivation of the word is possible from Semitic material, and there can be no reasonable doubt that its origin is to be found in ζεύγος¹ ζεύγος is originally a yoke from ζευγνυμι to join, fasten,² and then comes to mean a couple, so that κατὰ ζεύγος or κατὰ ζεύγη meant in pairs, and thus ζεύγος = coniugium was used for a married pair From Greek it passed eastwards and in the Rabbinic writings we have זוג meaning both pair and wife,³ and זוגא pair, husband, companion, besides the denominative זוג to bind or pair, and זוגא = ζεύγωσις, זוגא = ζεύγος + δῖς So Syr ܚܝܐ is yoke, and the very common ܚܝܐ ܒܝܐ = yokefellow, commonly used for husband or wife, with verbal forms built therefrom It was from this Syr that we get the Eth 𐩢𐩣𐩪𐩥 (Noldeke, *Neue Beitrage* 44) and the Arm 𐬶𐬵𐬶𐬭𐬀,⁴ and it was probably from the same source that it passed into Arabic One might expect that it would be an early borrowing, and as a matter of fact it occurs in the early poetry⁵

زور (Zūr)

xxii, 31, xxv, 5, 72, lviii, 2

Falsehood

It is linked with idolatry in xxii, 31, but in the other passages is quite colourless

¹ Fraenkel op cit 106 Vollcis ZDMG l 622 li 298 Psal 1094

Cf Lat ungere and the Av 𐬶𐬵𐬶𐬭𐬀 (Bartholomae, *AIW* 1228 Reichelt, *Elementarbuch* 477)

² See Meinhold s Yoma (1913) p 29 Krauss *Griechische Lehnwörter* ii, 240-242

³ Hubschmann *Arm Gramm* i 302 ZDMG xlv 235

⁵ Cf Antara xxi 31 in Ahlwardt s *Divans* p 46

The usual theory of the philologists is that it is derived from رَوَّر though this is clearly a denominative, and that the authorities felt some difficulty with the word is clear from *LA*, v, 426

Fraenkel, *Fremdw*, 273, suggested that it was from زَر¹ There is a Heb word זָרַא *loathsome thing* from זָרַר *to be loathsome*, but it seems hardly possible to derive the Arabic from this It would seem rather to be of Iranian origin Pers رور is *lie, falsehood*, which Vullers, *Lex*, II, 158, gives, it is true, as a loan word from Arabic He is certainly wrong, however, for not only does the word occur in Phlv both simply as زُر *zūr, a lie, falsehood, fiction*,² and in compounds as زُر گُکَاسِی *zūr gukāsīh = false evidence, perjury*,³ and in the Pazend *zur, a lie*,⁴ but also in the O Pers of the Behistun inscription (where we read (IV, 63-4) *nary drauṣjana āham, nary zūrakara āham*, 'I was no liar, nor was I an evil doer,' and further (IV, 65) *nary zūra akunavam* 'I did no wrong'),⁵ and in the Av زُرōjata⁶ From Middle Persian the word was borrowed into Arm, where we find զւր *false, wrong*,⁷ which enters into several compounds, e.g. զրարան *calumnator* զրկանք *injustice*, etc, so that it was probably directly from Middle Persian that it came into Arabic

زَيْت (Zait)

xxiv, 35, also زَيْتُون, vi, 99, 142, xvi, 11, xxiv 35, lxxx, 29, xcvi, 1

Olive oil Olive tree

¹ Vide also *Beit Ass* III 67 where he says Das Koranische رور habe ich in dringendem Verdacht aus der Fremde entlehnt zu sein Schon die verschiedenartigen Erklärungen der Araber sind auffallend

² e.g. *Gosht i Fryano* III 29

³ e.g. *Arda Viraf* IV 6 xlv 5

⁴ Vide *Shikand Glossary*, p 275 Salemann *Manichaäische Studien* I 80

⁵ Spiegel in the Glossary to his *Altperischen Keilinschriften* p 243 translates *zura* by Gewalt but Hubschmann *ZDMG* xlv 329 rightly corrects him

⁶ Bartholomae *AIW* 1698 Horn *Grundriss* 149, § 674

⁷ Hubschmann *Arm Gram* I 151

The word has no verbal root in Arabic, رأت *to give oil* being obviously denominative, as was clear even to the native Lexicographers (*LA*, II, 340, etc.)

Guidi, *Della Sede*, 600, had noted the word as a foreign borrowing, and Fraenkel, *Fremdw*, 147, points out that the olive was not indigenous among the Arabs¹. We may suspect that the word belongs to the old pre Semitic stratum of the population of the Syrian area. In Heb רִי means both *olive tree* and *olive*,² but Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, III, 215, showed that primitively it meant *oil*. In Aram we have ܪܝܝܐ and Syr ܪܝܐ, which (along with the Heb) Gesenius tried unsuccessfully to derive from ܪܝܝܐ *to be bright, fresh, luxuriant*. The word is also found in Coptic ܪܝܝܐ beside ܪܝܝܐ and ܪܝܝܐ, where it is clearly a loan word, and in Phlv ܪܝܝܐ³ and Arm ܪܝܝܐ *oil*, ܪܝܝܐ *olive tree*, which are usually taken as borrowings from Aram,⁴ but which the presence of the word in Ossetian *zeli*, and Georgian ზელი would at least suggest the possibility of being independent borrowings from the original population.⁵

The Arabic word may have come directly from this primitive source, but more likely it is from the Syr^v ܪܝܐ, which also is the source of the Eth ܪܝܐ (Noldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, 42)⁶. It was an early borrowing in any case, for it occurs in the old poetry, e.g. *Divan Hudh*, lxxii, 6, *Aghānī*, viii, 49, etc.

سَاعَة (Sā'a)

Of very frequent occurrence, cf. vi, 31, vii, 32, xii, 107, etc.
Hour

It is used in the Qur'ān both as an ordinary period of time—an hour (cf. xxx, 55, vii, 32, xvi, 63), but particularly of "the hour",

¹ He quotes Strabo xv 781 whose evidence is rather for S Arabia. Bekri *Mu jam* 425 however says that the olive is found in Syria only and we may note that in Sura xxiii 20 the tree on Mt Sinai yields رمان not رمان.

² So Phon רִי (cf. Harris *Glossary* 99) and רִי in the Ras Shamra texts.

³ *PPGI* 242

⁴ Hubschmann *Arm Gramm* I 309 *ZDMG* xlv 243 Lagarde *Mitth*, III 219, seemed to think that ܪܝܐ was the origin of the Semitic forms (but see his *Arm Stud* No 1347 and *Übersicht*, 219 n).

⁵ Laufer *Sino Iranica* 411 however still holds to a Semitic origin for all the forms.

⁶ Eth ܪܝܐ however is from Ar رمان cf. Noldeke *op cit*.

the great Day of Judgment (liv, 46 , xlii, 17 , vi, 31, etc) It occurs most commonly in late Meccan passages

It is difficult to derive the word from the Ar **سَاع** " to let camels run freely in pasture ", though it might conceivably be a development from a verbal meaning " to pass along ", i e *to elapse* The Lexicons, however (cf *LA*, x, 33), seem to make no attempt to derive it from a verbal root

The probabilities are that it is of Aram origin **שעתא** occurs in Bibl Aram , and **שעה**, **שעא** and **שעתא** are common in the Targums and Rabbinical writings for both *a short time*¹ and *an hour*, both of which meanings are also found for the commonly used Syr **ܫܥܬܐ** In Syr **ܫܥܬܐ** is very frequently used in eschatological passages for " the hour ", cf Mark xiii, 32 , Jno v, 28, etc , and Ephraem (ed Lamy) iii, 583, precisely as in the Qur'ānic eschatological passages As the Eth **ሰዓት** or **ሰዓት**, which is also used eschatologically, is a borrowing from the Syr (Noldeke, *Neue Beitr*, 44), we are fairly sure, as we have already noted (*supra*, p 40), that as an eschatological term the Arabic has come from Syr , and the same is probably true of the word in its ordinary usage It occurs in the early poetry and so would have been an early borrowing

السَّامِرِيُّ (*As Sāmīrī*)

xx, 87, 90, 96

The Samaritan

The Qur'ān gives this name to the man who made the golden calf for the Children of Israel

Geiger 166² thought that the word was due to a misunderstanding of the word **סמאל**, the Angel of Death who, according to the story in *Perke Rabbi Eliezer*, xlv,³ was hidden within the calf and loved to deceive the Israelites Thus, however, is rather remote, and there can be no doubt that the Muslim authorities are right in saying that it means " The Samaritan " The calf worship of the Samaritans may

¹ From the fact that the word can mean an extremely short period of time some have thought that its original meaning was Augenblinck the blink of an eye related to Akk *še u* Heb **נִצָּץ** to gaze

² Followed by Tisdall *Sources*, 113 but see Heller in *EI* sub voc

³ In Friedlander's translation (London 1916) p 355

have had something to do with the Qur'ānic story ¹ But as Fraenkel, *ZDMG*, lvi, 73, suggests, it is probably due to some Jewish Midrash in which later enmity towards the Samaritans led pious Jews to find all their calamities and lapses of faith due to Samaritan influence ²

A comparison of the Syr **ܫܡܪܝܢܐ** with Heb **שְׁמֶרֶן** would suggest a Syr origin for the Ar **سَمَرِي**, but as Horovitz, *KU*, 115, notes, there is a late Jewish **שְׁמֶרַי** or **שְׁמֶרֶי** which might quite well be the source of the Qur'ānic form

سَاهِرَة (*Sāhira*)

lxxix, 14

The passage is an early one referring to the Last Day—"Lo there will be but a single blast, and behold they are **الساهرة** where the Commentators are divided in opinion as to whether *Sahira* is one of the names of Hell—**اسم جهنم**, or a place in Syria which is to be the seat of the Last Judgment, or means the surface of the earth—**وجه الارض** See Tab, Baid and Bagh on the verse

Sprenger, *Leben*, II, 514, notes that "aus dem Arabischen lasst es sich nicht erklaren", and suggests that it is derived from the **בית הסהר** which as used in Gen xxxix and xl means *prison* There seems, however, to be no evidence that this **סהר** was ever connected with the abode of the wicked, and Schulthess, *Umayya*, 118, commenting on the verse of *Umayya*—**عدنا صيد بحر وصيد ساهرة**, "we are permitted hunting on sea and on dry land," would explain it from the Aram **סחרתא** = Syr **ܫܚܪܬܐ** ³ meaning *environs* He points

¹ Cf the **עַל שְׁמֶרֶן** of Hos viii 5 6

² A confirmation of this is found in the words of v 97 giving the punishment of the Samiri where the touch me not doubtless refers to the ritual purifications of the Samaritans Cf Goldziher's article *La Revue Africaine* No 268 Alger 1908 Halévy *Revue Sémitique* xvi, 419 ff refers it to the cry of the lepers but Horovitz *KU* 115 rightly insists that this is not sufficient to explain the verse

³ On which see his *Homonyme Wurzeln* 41 ff

out that $\bullet = \Pi$ is not unknown in words that have come through Nabataean channels ¹

It is not impossible, however, to take it as an ordinary Arabic word meaning *awake* ✓

سَبَا (Sabā')

xxvii, 22, xxxiv, 14

Sabā'

The name of a city in Yemen destroyed by a great inundation. We have fairly extensive evidence for the name of the city from non Arabic sources. It is the 𐩧𐩢𐩨 of the S Arabian inscriptions (*CIS*, II, 375, Mordtmann, *Sab Denkm*, 18, Glaser, *Zwei Inschriften*, 68, Rossini, *Glossarium*, 192, Ryckmans, *Noms propres*, I, 353), which occurs in the Cuneiform inscriptions as *Sab'a and Saba'*,² in Greek as $\Sigma\alpha\beta\acute{\alpha}$,³ in Heb שְׁבָא , from which are Syr ܫܒܐ , Eth ሰባ

As the Qur'anic statements about Sabā' are connected with the Solomon legend, it is possible that like the name *Suleimān*, it came to him from Christian sources, though we cannot absolutely deny its derivation from Rabbinic material (Horovitz, *KU*, 115, *JPN*, 157), and indeed the name may have come directly from S Arabia

سَبْت (Sabt)

II 61, IV, 50, 153, VII, 163, XVI, 125

Sabbath

(Sprenger and others would add to this سَبَات *rest* in xxv, 49, lxxviii, 9) ⁴

We find سَبْت only in relatively late passages and always of the Jewish Sabbath. The Muslim authorities treat it as genuine Arabic from سَبْت to *cut*, and explain it as so called because God cut off

¹ His examples are $\text{دمل} = \text{دمل} = \text{دمى} = \text{دمل}$ and

² Delitzsch *Paradises* 303

³ $\Sigma\alpha\beta\alpha$ in LXX but $\Sigma\alpha\beta\alpha\tau\alpha\upsilon$ in Strabo

⁴ *Leben* II 430 Grunbaum *ZDMG* xxxix 584 but see Horovitz *KU* 96

His work on the seventh day ¹ (cf Baid on II, 61, and Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, III, 423)

There can be no doubt that the word came into Arabic from Aram² and probably from the Jewish שבת³ rather than from the Syr

ܫܒܬ The verb سَتَ of VII, 163, is then denominative, as Fraenkel, *Vocab*, 21, has noted. It is doubtful if the word occurs in this meaning earlier than the Qur'an.

سَبَّحَ (*Sabbaha*)

Of very frequent occurrence, cf II, 28, etc.

To praise

Besides the verb we have سَبَّحَ praise³, تسبيح act of praise, مُسَبِّح one who celebrates praise, all obviously later formations from

The primitive sense of the root is to glide, and in this sense we find

سَبَّحَ, سَبَّحَ, and سَابَحَ in the Qur'ān, so that some of the philologists

endeavoured to derive سَبَّحَ from this (cf Baid on II, 28). It has been pointed out frequently, however, that the sense of praise is an Aram development of the root. It occurs in Hebrew in this sense only as a late Aramaism (*BDB*, 986), and in S Semitic only after contact with Aramaic speaking peoples.

שבח is found even in O Aram⁴, meaning to laud, praise, and has a wide use in Syriac. Fraenkel, *Vocab*, 20, and Hirschfeld, *Beiträge*, 45, are inclined to think that we must look for a Jewish source, but there is even more likelihood of its being Syr, for not only is ܫܒܬ widely used in the classical language, but we find ܫܒܬܐ = سَبَّحَ, and in

It is curious that the Muslims object to deriving it from the sense of to rest (שבת) on the ground of Sura I 37. See Grunbaum *ZDMG* xxxix 585.

² Geiger 54 von Kremer *Ideen* 226 n. Hirschfeld *New Researches* 104 Horowitz *KU* 96 *JPN* 186 Fischer *Glossar* 52.

³ Sprenger *Leben* I 107 ff.

⁴ Lidzbarski *Handbuch* 372 Cook *Glossary* 111.

the Christian Palestinian dialect $\text{ܠܡܨܝܚ} = \text{ܬܨܝܚ}$ ¹ It is clear that the word was known among the Arabs in pre Islamic times, for we find ܦܢܗ as a proper name in Sabaeen (cf Ryckmans, *Noms propres*, 1, 146), so Horovitz, *JPN*, 186, lists it as one of those words which, while obviously a borrowing from the older religions, cannot be definitely assigned to a particular Jewish or Christian source

ܣܒܝܠ (*Sabīl*)

Occurs frequently, cf 11, 102

A way, road—then metaphorically, a cause, or reason

In the Qur'ān it is used both of a *road*, and in the technical religious sense of *The Way* (cf Acts ix, 2), i e ܣܒܝܠ ܐܠܗ The Muslim authorities take it as genuine Arabic, and Sprenger, *Leben*, 11, 66, agrees with them It is somewhat difficult, however, to derive it from ܣܒܠ , as even Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 221, seems to feel, and the word is clearly a borrowing from the Syr ܡܨܠܐ ² As a matter of fact Heb ܫܒܝܠ and Aram ܫܒܝܠܐ mean both *road* or *way of life*, precisely as the Syr ܡܨܠܐ , but it is the Syriac word which had the widest use and was borrowed into Arm as շաւիղ ,³ and so is the more likely origin It occurs in the old poetry, e g in Nabigha v, 18 (Ahlwardt, *Divans*, p 6), and thus must have been an early borrowing

ܣܠܬܐ (*Sajada*)

Of very frequent occurrence Cf 11, 32

To worship

With the verbal forms must be taken ܫܠܘܬܐ , e g, 11, 119, xxii,

27, etc

¹ Schwally *Idioticon* 91 See also Mingana *Syriac Influence* 86 Bell *Origin* 51 and Nöldeke *Neue Beiträge* 36 who shows that the Eth ܫܒܠܐ is of the same origin

² Schwally in *ZDMG* lxx 197 says Bei der Annahme dass ܣܒܠ Weg echt arabisch ist scheint es mir auffallend zu sein dass unter den verschiedenen Synonymen gerade dieses dem Aramäischen und Hebräischen gleiche Wort für den religiösen Sprachgebrauch ausgesucht ist Ich kann mir diese Erscheinung nur aus Entlehnung erklären

³ Hübschmann *Arm. Gramm* 1 313 *ZDMG*, xlv, 246

This root סנר is an Aram[√] formation. Even in O Aram it meant "prostration of reverence", as is evident from the סנידא of Sachau's Edessa inscription No 3 (ZDMG, xxxvi, 158, cf Dan iii, 6). In later Aram סנר is to bow down, סנודא is worship, adoration, and בית סנידא an idol temple. Similarly Syr ܣܢܝܬܐ, from a primitive meaning of "to salute reverentially" (cf 2 Sam ix, 6), comes to mean to adore, translating both σέβω and προσκυνεω, and giving ܣܢܝܬܐ and ܣܢܝܬܐ adoration, and ܣܢܝܬܐ a worshipper, etc.

It is from the Aram that we get the Heb סנר (Noldeke, ZDMG, xli, 719) and the Eth 𐩨𐩣𐩪 (Noldeke, Neue Beiträge, 36), and it was from Aram that the word passed into Arabic,¹ probably at an early period, as we see from the Mu'allaga of 'Amr b Kulthūm, l 112

سِجِل (Sigill)

xxi, 104

The meaning of Sigill in this eschatological passage was unknown to the early interpreters of the Qur'an. Some took it to be the name of an Angel, or of the Prophet's amanuensis, but the majority are in favour of its meaning some kind of writing or writing material (Tab and Bagh on the passage, and Raghib, Mufradāt, 223)

There was also some difference of opinion as to its origin, some like Bagh taking it as an Arabic word derived from مساحة, and others admitting that it was a foreign word, of Abyssinian or Persian origin.² It is, however, neither Persian³ nor Abyssinian, but the Gk σιγίλλον = Lat sigillum, used in Byzantine Greek for an Imperial edict.⁴ The word came into very general use in the eastern part of the Empire, so that we find Syr ܣܝܓܝܠܐ (PSm, 2607)⁵ meaning

¹ Noldeke op cit Hirschfeld Beiträge 41 Schwally ZDMG li 134 Von Kremer Streifzüge p ix n

² al Jawahiqi Mu'arrab 87 al Khafaji 104 as Suyuti Itq 321 Mutaw 41 W Y Bell in his translation of the Mutaw is quite wrong in taking the word رِجْل to mean part portion blank paper. It means man as is clear from LA, xiii 347

³ Pers سِجِل meaning syngrapha iudicis is a borrowing from the Arabic Vullers Lex ii 231

⁴ Vullers ZDMG l 611 li 314 Bell Origin, 74 Vacca EI sub voc Fraenkel, Vocab 17 Fremdw 251

⁵ Noldeke Neue Beiträge, 27

diploma, and Arm *սիգիլ* meaning *seal* ¹ It may have come through Syriac to Arabic as Mingana, *Syriac Influence*, 90, claims, but the word appears not to occur in Arabic earlier than the Qur'ān, and may be one of the words picked up by Muhammad himself as used among the people of N Arabia in its Greek form In any case, as Noldeke insists, ² it is clear that he quite misunderstood its real meaning

سَجِيل (Sijīl)

xi, 84, xv, 74, cv, 4

Lumps of baked clay

The last of these passages refers to the destruction of the army of the Elephant, and the others to the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah In both cases the سَجِيل is something rained down from heaven, and as the latter event is referred to in Sūra li, 33 we get the equivalence of سَجِيل = طين, which gives the Commentators their cue for its interpretation ³

It was early recognized as a foreign word, and generally taken as of Persian origin, ⁴ Tab going so far as to tell us وهو بالمارسية سَك

كَلْ, which is a very fair representation of سَكْ and كَلْ (Fraenkel,

Vocab, 25, Siddiqi, *Studien*, 73) سَكْ meaning *stone* is the Phlv

سَگ sang from Av سَگ asan, ⁵ and كَلْ meaning *clay* the Phlv

گَل gāl, ⁶ related to Arm Կալ (Horn, *Grundriss*, 207) ⁷ From Middle

¹ Hubschmann *Arm Gramm* 1 378

² *Neue Beirage* 27

³ Others however would not admit this identification and we learn from Tab that some took it to mean the lowest heaven others connected it with كَاب and others made it a form from اسجل meaning ارسل Finally, Baiḍ tells us that some thought it a variant of سجن meaning *hell*

⁴ al Jawahiri *Mu arrab* 81 Ibn Qutaiba *Adab al Katib* 527 al Khafaji 103 Raghib *Mufradat* 223 Baiḍ on xi 84 as Suyuti *Itq* 321 *Mutaw* 35 and see Horovitz *KU* 11 Siddiqi 8 n 2

⁵ Bartholomae *AIW* 207

⁶ *PPGI* 120

⁷ But see Hübschmann, *Arm Gramm* 1 172

Persian[✓] it passed directly into Arabic Grimme, *ZA*, xxvi, 164, 165, suggests S Arabian influence, but there seems nothing to support this

سِجِّين (Sijjīn)

lxxxiii, 7, 8

The early authorities differed widely as to what the *Sijjīn* of this eschatological passage might be It was generally agreed that it was a place, but some said it meant the lowest earth—الارض السابعة, or a name for hell, or a rock under which the records of men's deeds are kept, or a prison¹ The Qur'ān itself seems to indicate that it means a document كتاب مرقوم, so as Suyūṭi, *Mutaw*, 46,² tells us that some thought it was a Persian word meaning *clay* (tablet) Grimme, *ZA*, xxvi, 163, thinks that it refers to the material on which the records are written, and compares with the Eth **ḫṣṣṣṣ** or **ḫṣṣṣṣ** meaning *clay writing tablets* It is very probable, however, as Noldeke, *Sketches*, 38, suggested long ago, that the word is simply an invention of Muhammad himself If this is so, then كتاب مرقوم is probably an explanatory gloss that has crept into the text

سُحْت (Suht)

v, 46, 67, 68

Unlawful

The reference is to usury and to forbidden foods It is clearly a technical term, and the passages, it will be noted, are of the latest Madinan group

Sprenger, *Leben*, iii, 40, n, suggested that it was a technical term borrowed from the Jews, and there certainly is an interesting parallel from the Talmud, *Shabb*, 140b, where שחט is used in this technical sense It is, however, the Syr **ܫܚܬܐ** *depravity, corruption*, (t, ,

¹ See Vacca *EI* sub voc who suggests that it was this idea that the word was connected with سحر that gave rise to the theory that it was a place in the nethermost earth where the books were kept rather than the books themselves

² See also *Itq* 321

which gives us a nominal form from which **سحت** may have been derived

سَحَرَ (Sahara)

vii, 113, 129, xxiii, 91

To enchant, bewitch, use sorcery

Besides the verb there are used in the Qur'ān the nouns **ساحر**, plu **سَحَرَة** and **ساحرون**, vii, 109, 110, etc, *sorcerer*, **سَحَّار** a great magician, xxvi, 36, **سِحْر**, *enchantment, sorcery*, v, 110, vi, 7, etc, **مسحور**, *bewitched*, xvii, 50, 103, etc, **مُسَحَّر** *bewitched*, xxvi, 153, 185

The verb is denominative, formed either from the noun **ساحر** or **سحر**, which was the borrowed term

It would seem that the word came to the Arabs from Mesopotamia, which was ever to them the home of sorcery and magic (see the Lexicons under **ساحر**) Zimmern, therefore ¹ would derive it from the Akk [✓]*sāhuru* *sorcerer, magician* If this is so it may have been a very early borrowing direct from Mesopotamia, though a borrowing through the Aramaic is more probable ²

سِرَاح (Sirāj)

xxv, 62, xxxiii, 45, lxxi, 15, lxxviii, 13

A lamp or torch

The Muslim authorities take it as pure Arabic, not realizing that the verb from which they derive it is denominative

Fraenkel, *Vocab*, 7, pointed out that it was from Aram [✓]**שרנא** = Syr **ܫܪܝܢܐ** These forms are, however, borrowed from the Pers

چراغ and in *Fremdw*, 95, he suggests that it probably came directly

¹ *Akkadische Fremdwörter* 67

² **ܫܪܝܢܐ** as used on the incantation bowls is significant cf Montgomery *Aramaic Incantation Texts* Glossary 297

into Arabic from an Iranian[✓] source, a theory also put forward by Sachau in his notes to the *Mu'arrab*, p 21 This is of course possible, since the Arm *ṣpuṣ* is from the Iranian, as also the Ossetian *ciray*,¹ but Syr *ܣܪܐܕܩ* was a very commonly used word with many derivatives (*PSm*, 4325), and Vollers, *ZDMG*, 1, 613, is doubtless right in deriving the Arabic word from the Syriac[✓]

سُرَادِقْ (*Surādīq*)

xviii, 28

An awning, tent cover

The passage is eschatological, descriptive of the torments of the wicked, for whom is prepared a fire "whose awning shall enwrap them" The exegetes got the general sense of the word from the passage, but were not very sure of its exact meaning as we see from Baiḍ's comment on the verse

It was very generally recognized as a foreign word Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 229, notes that the form of the word is not Arabic, and al Jawalīqī, *Mu'arrab*, 90, classes it as a Persian word,² though he is not very certain as to what was the original form Some derived it from

سَرَادِر, meaning an *antechamber*, others from سَرِا پَرده *curtains*, others

from سَرِاطاق,³ and yet others from سَرِا چِه⁴

Pers سَرِا پَرده is the form from which we must work It is defined by Vullers as "velum magnum s auleum, quod parietis loco circum tentorium expandunt",⁵ and is formed from پَرده a *veil* or *curtain* (Vullers, 1, 340), and an O Pers $\sqrt{srāda}$,⁶ from which came the

¹ Hubschmann, *Arm Gramm* 1 190 Addai Sher 89 wants to derive the Pers حِرا from the Syr but this is putting things back to front For the Pahlavī form see Salemann *Manichaäische Studien* 1 121 Telegdi in *JA* ccxxvi (1935) p 255

² So as Suyutī *Itq* 321 and Siddiqī *Studien* 64

³ al Khafajī 105 On the form سَرِا پَرده see Noldeke *Mand Gramm* xxxi n 3

⁴ Lagarde *Übersicht* 176 n

⁵ *Lex* ii 257

⁶ Hubschmann *Persische Studien* 199 Cf the Phlv *سَرِا پَرده* *sratan* and Pers سَرِای Horn *Grundriss* 161

Arm *urwā*¹ and the Judæo Persian *סרוא*,² both meaning *forecourt* (*αυλή* or *στοά*) From some Middle Persian formation from this *√srāda* with the suffix *ā* was borrowed the Arm *urwā*³ meaning *curtain*,³ and the Mandaean *סראדקא* *roof of tent or awning* ⁴ The word occurs in the old poetry, e g in Labid (ed Chalidi, p 27), and was thus an early borrowing, but whether directly from Iranian or through Aram it is impossible now to say

سِرْبَال (Surbāl)

xiv, 51, xvi, 83

Garment

From the use of the word in the old poetry, e g Imru'ul-Qais, li, 14, 'Antara, xx, 18, *Hamāsa*, p 349, it is clear that the word means a *shirt* and in particular a shirt of mail and Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 228, gives the Qur'anic meaning as قِيَصٌ مِّنْ أَيْ حَسٍّ

Freytag, *Lex*, ii, 305, suggested that it was the Pers شلوار which is taken to be the origin of سرواله and then of سربال Many authorities have favoured this view, but as Dozy, *Vetements*, 202, points out, شلوار means *breeches* not *shirt* or *mantle*, and is formed from شل femur + وار (Vollers, *ZDMG*, i, 324) In Aram, however, we find סרבלא, which in the Rabbinic writings means *mantle*,⁵ and gave rise to the verbal forms סרבל and סרבל "to enwrap in a mantle" This verbal form occurs in the old Arabic poetry, e g حتى تسربل بالدم in the *Mu'allaqat* of 'Antara, l 73, and سربال may have been formed from this verbal

¹ Hubschmann *Arm Gramm* i 241 and see Lagarde *Arm Stud*, § 2071

² Lagarde *Persische Studien* 72

³ Hubschmann *Arm Gramm* i 241

⁴ Noldeke *Mand Gramm* xxxi Lagarde, *Übersicht* 176 n Fraenkel *Fremdw* 29 It may be argued however that the Mand form is from Arabic

⁵ So סרבל in Dan iii 21 27 Vide Andreas in the Glossary to Marti's *Grammatik d bibl aram Sprache* 1896 and the other suggestions discussed by S A Cook in the *Journal of Philology* xxvi 306 ff in an article 'The Articles of Dress in Dan iii, 21

form Syr ܣܪܕ, however, like Gk *σάραβαλλα*, seems to have been used particularly for breeches¹ All these, of course, are borrowings from Iranian,² but the probabilities seem to be that the word was an early loan word in Arabic from Aramaic

سَرْد (Sard)

xxxiv, 10

Chain armour, i e work of rings woven together

It occurs only in a passage relating to David's skill as an armourer

The Muslim authorities derive it from سَرَد to *stitch* or *sew* (cf Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 229), though it is curious that they know that *armourer* ought to be *Zarrād* rather than *Sarrād* (as Sijistānī, 177)

As a matter of fact سَرَد seems to be but a form of رَرَد, which, like

رَرَد, was commonly used among the Arabs² This رَرَد is a borrowing from Iranian³ sources as Fraenkel *Vocab*, 13, noted³ Av 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 *zrāda* (*AIW*, 1703) means a coat of mail, and becomes in Phlv both

𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 *zrīh*, whence Mod Pers رَرِه and Arm զրահ,⁴ and also was borrowed into Syr as ܪܪܕ⁵ The word was a pre Islamic borrowing, possibly direct from Persia,⁶ or maybe through Syriac⁷

سَطَرَ (Satara)

مَسْطَر, lxviii, 1, مَسْطُور, xvii, 60, xxxiii, 6, li, 2, مَسْطَرُون,

liv, 53 [also the forms مَصِيطَر, lxxxviii, 22, and مَصِيطَرُون, li, 37]

To write, to inscribe

They are all early passages save xxxiii, 6 and possibly all refer to the same thing, the writing in the Heavenly Scrolls

¹ Cf Horn *Grundriss* § 789

² Ibn Duraid 174

³ See also his *Fremdw* 241 ff and Telegdi in *JA* ccxxvi (1935) p 243

⁴ Hubschmann *Arm Gramm* i 152 Jackson *Researches in Manichaeism*, 1932 p 66 Salemann *Manichaeische Studien* i 80

⁵ Nyberg *Glossar* 257 Horn *Grundriss* 146

Noldeke as early as 1860¹ drew attention to the fact that the noun *سطر* seemed to be a borrowing from *ܣܬܪ* = *שטר*,² so that the verb, as Fraenkel, *Fremdw*, 250, notes, would be denominative. The Aram *ܣܬܪ* = *ܣܬܪ* means a *document*, and is from a root connected with Akk *šatāru*, to write. It occurs as *שטר* in Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions,³ and in the S Arabian inscriptions we have *𐩦𐩣𐩪* to write, and *𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩪* inscriptions.⁴ D H Muller, *WZKM*, 1, 29, thinks that the Arabic may have been influenced both by the Aramaeans of the north, and the Sabaeans of the south, and as a matter of fact as-Suyūṭī, *Itq*, 311, tells us that Juwaibir in his comment on xvii, 60, quoted a tradition from Ibn 'Abbās to the effect that

مكتوب was the word used in the Himyaritic dialect for *مسطور*⁵

The presence of the Phlv *ܣܬܪܐ* *stūrē*, as, e g, in the phrase *ܣܬܪܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ* = in lines (*PPGl*, 205), makes us think, however, that it may have been Aramaic influence which brought the word to S Arabia.⁶ In any case the occurrence of the word in the early poetry shows that it was an early borrowing.

سفر (*Sifr*)

lxii, 5

A large book

It occurs only in the plu *اسفار* in the proverb "like an ass beneath a load of books"

This sense of *اسفار* is quite unnatural in Arabic, and some of the early authorities quoted in as-Suyūṭī, *Itq*, 319,⁷ noted that it was a borrowing from Nabataean or Syriac. It was apparently a word used among the Arabs for the Scriptures of Jews and Christians, for in

¹ *Geschichte des Qorans* p 13

² Cf Horovitz *KU* 70

³ Lidzbarski *Handbuch* 374

⁴ Lidzbarski *Ephemeris* ii 381 Hommel *Chrest* 124 Muller *Epigr Denkm aus Arabien* li 2 liv 2 Glaser *Allgemeinische Nachrichten* 67 ff Rossini *Glossarium* 194

Vide Sprenger *Leben* ii 395

Zimmern *Akkad Fremdw* 29 takes the Arabic form as derived from Aramaic *Mutaw* 54 59

Bekrī, *Mu'jam*, 369, 18, we read of how aḏ-Dahhāk entered a Christian monastery while the monk was reading *سفر* من اسفار, and Ibn Duraid, 103, says that *Sifr* means "the volume of the Torah or the Injil or what resembles them" ¹

It is clearly a borrowing from Aramaic ² The common Heb ספר appears in Aram as ספרא, Syr ܣܦܪܐ From Aram it passed on the one hand into Eth as ሰፈሩ and on the other into Arm as սոփեր As the Arm word seems to have come from Syr, ³ we may suppose that it was from the same source that the Arabs got the word

سَفَرَة (Safara)

lxxx, 15

Scribes, plu of سَاوِر (used of the heavenly scribes)

as Suyūṭī, *Itq*, 321 (*Mutaw*, 60), tells us that some early authorities said it was a Nabataean word meaning قراء Aram ספר was a scribe or secretary who accompanied the Governor of a Province (Ezra iv, 8, etc), and then came to mean γραμματεὺς in general (cf Ezra vii, 12, 21, and Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, Index, 301) So Syr ܣܦܪܐ is both γραμματεὺς and νομικός, and as Arabic terms connected with literary craft are commonly of Syriac origin we may suppose with Mingana ⁴ that this word is from Christian rather than from Jewish Aramaic, though the occurrence of Palm ספרא ⁵ may point to an early borrowing in N Arabia ⁶

سَفِينَة (Safīna)

xviii, 70, 78, xxix, 14

A ship

¹ See Goldziher in *ZDMG* xxxii, 347 n

² Fraenkel *Fremdw* 247 Schwally *Idioticon* 64 In Safaite ספר means an inscription cf Littmann *Semitic Inscriptions* 113 124 127

³ Hubschmann *Arm Gramm*, i 317 and see Muller in *WZKM* viii 284

⁴ *Syriac Influence* 85 Horowitz *KU* 63 n is in doubt whether it is of Jewish or Syrian origin As a matter of fact the heavenly scribes occur just as frequently in Jewish as in Christian books so that a decision from the use of the word is impossible

⁵ *RES* iii No 1739

The reference in xviii is to the boat used by Moses and al-Khiḍr, and in xxix to Noah's ark

The lexicographers fancifully derive it from *سمى* to peel or pare (cf *LA*, xvii, 72) This, however, is denominative from *سَفْنٌ* an adze, which itself is not an Arabic word but the Pers *اسپان* which passed into Arabic through *صحن*¹ Guidi, *Della Sede*, 601, called attention to the fact that *سَمِيَّة* is a loan word in Arabic, and the Semitic root is doubtless *ספן* to cover in, which we find in Akk *sapannu* = concealment, Phon *מספנת* a roof,² and Aram *ספן*, Heb *סָפַן* to cover

The form *ספינה* occurs in Heb in the story of Jonah (Jonah 1, 5),³ and in the Talmud and Targums *ספינא* and *ספינתא* are commonly used Even more commonly used are the Syr *ܣܦܝܢܐ*, and as both the al-Khiḍr and Nūh stories of the Qur'ān seem to have developed under Christian influence we might suspect the word there to be a borrowing from Syriac It occurs, however, in the old poetry, e g Imru'ul Qais xx, 4 (Ahlwardt, *Divans*, 128), *Div Hudh*, xviii, 3, etc, so one cannot venture to say more than that it came from some Aram source, as an early borrowing into Arabic

سَكَر (*Sakar*)

xvi, 69

Intoxicating drink

With this should be associated all the other forms derived there from and connected with drunkenness, e g iv, 46, xv, 15, 72, xxii, 2 as Suyūṭī, *Itq*, 321 (*Mutaw*, 40), tells us that some early authorities considered it an Ethiopic word It is possible that the Eth *ሰሐረ* is the origin of the Arabic word, but the word is widely used in the Semitic languages, e g Akk *sīkaru* (cf *שָׁכַר*, *سُكْر*), beer⁴, and Heb *שָׁכַר*, Aram *שכרא*, Syr *ܣܚܪܐ* date wine, and was borrowed into Egyptian,

¹ Vullers, *Lex* 1 68 Fraenkel *Fremdw* 216, 217

² Lidzbarski *Handbuch* 330 Harris *Glossary* 127

³ Cf the *ספינה* and *ספינתא* of the Elephantine papyri (Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri* No 26)

⁴ Zimmern, *Akkad Fremdw* 39

e g *tkr*,¹ and Greek, e g *σίκερα* ² Thus while it may have come into Arabic from Syriac³ as most other wine terms did, on the other hand it may be a common derivation from early Semitic (Guidi, *Della Sede*, 603)

سَكَنَ (*Sakana*)

Of frequent occurrence

To dwell

Besides the simple verb we find اسكن, the participles ساكن and

مسكن and مسكون

Zimmern, *Akkad Fremdw*, 30, thinks that the origin was Mesopotamian The Akk *šakānu* meant to settle in a place (*niederlegen, nieder setzen*), and was particularly used of dwelling somewhere This, he thinks, was the origin on the one hand of the other Semitic forms,

e g Heb שָׁכַן, Phon שָׁכַן, Syr هَكَن, and Ar سَكَن, and,

perhaps on the other hand, of the Gk *σκηνη* tent (though in view of the evidence in Boissacq, 875, this is doubtful)

سِكِّينَ (*Sikkīn*)

xii, 31

A knife

Noldeke, *Mand Gramm*, 125 n, had noted that it was a borrowed word comparing it with Heb שָׁכִין, Syr هَكَن, and Mand סִכִּינָא and סִכִּינָא ³ The Heb שָׁכִין is a loan word from Aram and the Aram word is also the source of the Gk *σικκινη* ⁴ and the Phlv ideogram 𐤔𐤕𐤍 *sakina*,⁵ so that an Aram[✓] origin of the Arabic word is fairly certain, though whether from Syr or O Aram it is difficult to decide (cf Guidi, *Della Sede*, 581)

¹ M Muller *Asien und Europa* 1893 p 102 Cf Erman Grapow v 410

² Levy *Fremdw* 81 and Lagarde *Muthehlungen* ii 307

³ Fraenkel *Fremdw* 84 says سَكَن ist seiner ganzen Bildung nach als Lehnwort deutlich es hat ferner im Arabischen keine Ableitung und ausserdem ist die Lautverschiebungsregel darin gegenüber שָׁכִין deutlich verletzt

⁴ Levy *Fremdw* 176

⁵ PPGI 201

سَكِينَة (Sakīna)

11, 249, 1x, 26, 40, xlviii, 4, 18, 26

The Shekinah

The question of the Shekinah in the Qur'ān has been discussed at length by de Sacy¹ and by Goldziher,² and we need do no more here than briefly summarize the results

The word occurs only in late Madinan passages and appears to have been a technical term learned by Muhammad at a relatively late period. In 11, 249, it refers to the sign whereby the Israelites were to recognize Saul as their king, but in all the other passages it is some kind of assistance sent down to believers from Heaven

Now there is a genuine Arabic word سَكِينَة meaning *tranquillity*, from سَكَر to rest, be quiet, and the common theory of the exegetes is that this is the word used here. This, however, will hardly fit 11, 249,³ and even in the other passages it is obvious that something more than merely tranquillity was meant, so that many thought it had the special meaning of نصر⁴. There was some doubt as to the vowelings of the word, for we find سَكِينَة, سَكِينَة, and سَكِينَة beside the usual سَكِينَة (TA, 1x 238, LA, xvii, 76). There can be little doubt, however, that we have here the Heb שְׁכִינָה⁵, though possibly through the Syr ܡܫܚܐ⁶ Muhammad would have learned the word from the People of the Book, and not quite understanding its significance, have associated it with the genuine Arabic word meaning *tranquillity*, and this gives us the curiously mixed sense of the word in the Qur'ān

سَلَام (Salām)

Of very frequent occurrence, cf iv, 96, v, 18, vi, 54, etc

¹ JA 1829 p 177 ff

² Abhandlungen 1 177-204 and RHR xxviii 1-13

³ So the Commentators admit that it means *tranquillity* in all passages save 11 249

⁴ Cf LA xvii 76

⁵ Geiger 54 Weil Mohammed, 181 Pautz Offenbarung 251 Horovitz JPN 208 von Kremer, Ideen 226 n Fraenkel Vocab, 23 Joel EI sub voc Grunbaum ZDMG xxxix 581 582

⁶ Nöldeke Neue Beiträge, 24 It was doubtless through the Syr that we get the Mand ܡܫܚܐ See Lidzbarski Mand Liturgien (1920) Register s v Montgomery Aramaic Incantation Texts Glossary, p 304

Peace

The denominative verbs **سَلَّمَ** and **أَسْلَمَ** with their derivatives are also used not uncommonly in the Qur'ān, though the primitive verb **سَلَّمَ** does not occur therein

The root is common Semitic, and is widely used in all the Semitic tongues. The sense of *peace*, however, seems to be a development peculiar to Heb' and Aram and from thence to have passed into the S Semitic languages. Heb **שָׁלוֹם** is *soundness* then *peace*¹, Aram **שְׁלָמָא** *security*, Syr **ܫܠܡܐ** *security, peace*. The Eth **ተሰለሠ**, however, is denominative,² so that **ሰላም** doubtless came from the older religions. Similarly **ሰላሳ**³ is to be taken as due to Northern influence, the **ሰ** like Eth **ሰ** (instead of **ረ** and **ሠ**), being parallel with the **ס** of the Safaite inscriptions.

In the Aram^v area the word was widely used as a term of salutation, and in this sense we very frequently find **שלום** in the Nabataean and Sinaitic,⁴ and **סלם** in the Safaite inscriptions.⁵ From this area it doubtless came into Arabic⁶ being used long before Islam, as Goldziher has shown (*ZDMG*, xlvī, 22 ff). There can be little doubt that **سَلَّمَ** to greet, etc., is denominative from this, though Torrey, *Foundation*, would take the whole development as purely Arabic.

سِلْسِلَة (*Silsila*)

xl, 73, lxix, 32, lxxvi, 4

Chain

It is used only in connection with descriptions of the torments of hell, and may be a technical term in Muhammad's eschatological vocabulary, borrowed in all probability from one of the Book religions.

In any case it cannot be easily explained from an Arabic root, and Guidi, *Della Sede*, 581, already suspected it as non-Arabic.

¹ So also the **שלום** of the Ras Shamra tablets

² Dillmann, *Lex* 322

³ Hommel *Sudarab Chrest* 124. Rossini *Glossarium* 196

⁴ For examples see Euting *Nab Inschr* 19, 20. *Sin Inschr*, 61 ff

⁵ Littmann *Semitic Inscriptions* pp 131, 132, 134 etc

⁶ Noldeke *Schwally* 1, 33 n. See Kunstlinger in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* xi 1-10

Fraenkel, *Fremdw*, 290,¹ relates it to the Aram שרשרתא, Syr ܫܪܫܪܬܐ,² which is the origin of the Eth ܫܪܫܬܐ (Noldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, 42), and possibly of the late Heb שלשל³. The borrowing from Aram⁴ would doubtless have been early, and it is possible that we find the word in Safaite (cf Ryckmans, *Noms propres*, 151)

سُلْطَان (Sultān)

Of very frequent occurrence, cf iii, 144, iv, 93, vi, 81

Power, authority (ἐξουσία)

The denominative verb سَلَّطَ to give power over occurs in iv, 92, lix, 6

The primitive verb سَلَّطَ to be hard or strong occurs frequently in the old poetry⁴ but not in the Qur'an. It is cognate with Eth ܫܠܬܐ to exercise strength,⁵ and with a group of N Semitic words, but in N Semitic the sense of the root has developed in general to mean to domineer, have power over, e.g. Akk šalātu, to have power⁶. Heb שָׁלַט to domineer, be master of⁷. Aram ܫܠܬܐ, Syr ܫܠܬܐ to have mastery over. Under this Aram influence the Eth ܫܠܬܐ later comes to mean potestatem habere.

The Muslim philologists were entirely at sea over the Qur'anic

سلطان, which they wish to derive from سَلِيط (cf *LA*, ix, 193), and Sprenger, *Leben*, i, 108, rightly took it as a borrowing from the Aram⁸. In Bibl Aram ܫܠܬܐ occurs several times, with the meaning sovereignty, dominion, like the Rabbinic שולטנות and שולטנא. In the Nabataean inscriptions also we find שִׁלְטוֹן rule, or dominion (cf Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, 376), but it is in Syriac that we find the

¹ See also p. 76 and Schwally *Idioticon* 94. Schulthess *Lex* 209.

² Zimmern *Akkad Fremdw* 35 carries this itself back to Akk šaršarratu.

³ Also of the Arm ܫܠܬܐ Hubschmann *Arm Gramm* i 314.

⁴ A sha in Geyer *Zwei Gedichte* i 163. *Diwan* iv 41 v 60. *Asma'iyat* vi 17.

⁵ Cf also ܫܠܬܐ and Nöldeke's note *Neue Beiträge* 39 n 3.

⁶ Zimmern *Akkad Fremdw* 7.

⁷ It is only a late word in Heb. and possibly a borrowing from Aramaic.

⁸ So Nöldeke *Neue Beiträge* 39 n 3. Wellhausen *ZDMG* lxxvii 633. Massignon *Lexique technique* 52.

word most widely used In particular **سلطان** is used in precisely the same senses as **سلطان** is used in the Qur'ān, and it was doubtless from this source that both the Ar **سلطان** and Eth **ሥልጣን** were derived ¹

سُلَّم (*Sullam*)

vi, 35, li, 38

Ladder

The word is clearly an Aram^v borrowing, for it has no root in Arabic and can only be explained from Aram **סולמא**, as Schwally has noticed (*ZDMG*, liii, 197) The word does not occur in Syriac, but its currency in N Arabia is evidenced by a Palm inscription—**ועבד בסלמא דנה עמודין שבעא** “and he has made along with this stairway seven columns” (De Vogue, No 11, line 3) ² It would probably have been a fairly early borrowing, and as the word seems to be originally Akkadian,³ one cannot lose sight of the possibility of the Arabic word having been an early borrowing from Mesopotamia

سَلْوَى (*Salwā*)

ii, 54, vii, 160, xx, 82

Quail

The word is found only in connection with the story of the manna and quails sent as provision for the Children of Israel in their desert wanderings

Some of the Muslim philologists endeavoured to derive it from **سلا** *to console* (cf Zam on ii, 54), but there can be no reasonable doubt that it is from the Heb **שָׁלוּ** through the Aram^v ⁴ The Jewish Aram **שליו סליו** is little used, so all the probabilities are in favour of its

¹ Fischer *Glossar* 56 gives it from Aramaic

² There is some doubt however as to whether the reading should be **סלמא** or **צלמא** though in the facsimile it certainly looks like **س** = **ס** and not **ח** = **צ**

³ See Schwally *ZDMG* liii 197 Horovitz *JPN* 210

⁴ Horovitz *KU* 17 n Lagarde *Übersicht* 190 n however curiously regards **שליו** as borrowed from the Arabic

having come through Syr **ܡܠܚܡܐ**,¹ though it may have come from the Targums (Ahrens, *Christliches*, 25)

سُلَيْمَان (Sulaimān)

ii, 96, iv, 161, vi, 84, xxi, 78-81, xxvii, 15-45, xxxiv, 11, xxxviii, 29, 33

Solomon

All these references are to the Biblical Solomon, though the information about him in the Qur'ān is mostly derived from late legend

The name was early recognized as a foreign borrowing into Arabic and is given as such by al Jawālīqī, *Mu'arrab*, 85, though some were inclined to take it as genuine Arabic and a diminutive of **سَلَام** from a root **سَلِم** (cf *LA*, xv, 192) Lagarde, *Übersicht*, 86 thought the philologists were right in taking it as a diminutive from **سَلَام**, quoting as parallel **رُعِفْرَان** from **رُعْفَرَان**, and Lidzbarski, *Johannesbuch*, 74, n 1, agrees The truth, however, seems to be that it is the Syr **ܡܠܚܡܐ**, as Noldeke has argued² al Jawālīqī, op cit, said it was Heb, but Gk **Σαλώμων**, Syr **ܡܠܚܡܐ**, Eth **ሰላሞን**, beside Heb **שלמה**, are conclusive proof of Christian origin

The name was well known in the pre Islamic period, both as the name of Israel's king, and as a personal name,³ so it would have been quite familiar to Muhammad's contemporaries

سُنْبُل (Sunbul)

ii, 263, xii, 46, 47

Ear of corn

The double plu **سُنْبُلَات** and **سُنْبُلَات** suggests foreign borrowing

¹ Fraenkel *Vocab*, 24 Hirschfeld *Beiträge*, 41 Mingana *Syriac Influence* 86

² *ZDMG* xv, 806 *ZA* xxx 158 and cf Brockelmann, *Grundriss* i 256 Mingana *Syriac Influence* 82, Horovitz *JPN* 167-9

³ Horovitz, *KU*, 118 points out that we have evidence for it as a personal name only among the Madinan Jews Cf also Sprenger, *Leben* ii, 335

The usual theory is that it is derived from سِل (Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 222, and the Lexicons), it not being realized that the verb اسل to put out ears, is itself a denominative from سَكَلَة, سَكُولَة, سَكُولَة, which parallel Heb שבלח , Akk šubultu , Aram שבלחא , Syr ܫܒܠܚܐ (cf Eth 𐩦𐩣𐩪)

As a matter of fact سَكَلَة, سَكُولَة, is an independent borrowing from the Aram^v and may be compared with the Mand שומבילחא (Noldeke, *Mand Gram*, 19) The inserted *n* is not uncommon in loan-words in Arabic, as Geyer points out ¹ Cf محل from مَحَل, Syr ܡܚܠܐ, or كف from ܟܦܐ, or قنفذ from ܩܢܦܕܐ, Syr ܩܢܦܕܐ, or حرير from ܚܪܝܪ, Syr ܚܪܝܪ, etc

سُنْدُس (Sundus)

xviii, 30, xlv, 53, lxxvi, 21

Fine silk

It occurs only in combination with استرق in describing the elegant clothing of the inhabitants of Paradise, and thus may be suspected at once of being an Iranian word

It was early recognized as a foreign borrowing, and is given as Persian by al Kindī, *Risāla*, 85, ath Tha'labī, *Fiqh*, 317, al Jawālīqī, *Mu'arrab*, 79, al Khafāji, 104, as Suyūṭī *Itq* 322 Others, however, took it as Arabic, as the *Muhīt* notes, and some, as we learn from *TA*, iv, 168, thought it was one of the cases where the two languages used the same word

Freytag in his *Lexicon* gave it as *e persica lingua*, though Fraenkel, *Vocab*, 4, raised a doubt, for no such form as سندس occurs in Persian, ancient or modern ² Dvořák, *Fremdw*, 72, suggests that it is a corruption of the Pers سَدُوَقَس, which like Syr ܫܕܘܩܫ is derived from

¹ *Zwei Gedichte* 1 118 n

² See now Henning in *BSOS* ix 87

Gk *σάνδυξ*,¹ a word used among the Lydians, so Strabo XI, xiv 9 says, for fine, transparent, flesh coloured women's garments of linen

Fraenkel, *Fremdw*, 41, compares with the Gk *σινδών*, the garment used in the Bacchic mysteries, and with this Vollers, *ZDMG*, li, 298, is inclined to agree, as also Zimmern, *Akkad Fremdw*, 37 *σινδών* itself is derived from Akk *sudinnu*, *sadinnu*, whence came the Heb סדין, Aram סדינא In any case it was an early borrowing as it occurs in the early poetry, e g in Mutalammis, xiv, 3, etc

سِوَارٌ (*Swār*)

Only in the plu forms أُسُورَةٌ, xliii, 53, and أُسَاوُرُ, xviii, 30, xxii, 23, xxxv, 30, lxxvi, 21

Bracelets

The form اسوره occurs in the Pharaoh story, but اساور is found only in eschatological passages describing the adornment of the inhabitants of Paradise

Zimmern *Akkad Fremdw*, 38, points out that the ultimate origin is the old Babylonian *sawiru*, *šewiru* meaning *ring* or *arm bracelet*, whence was derived the Heb שררה and Aram שררא Syr ܫܪܪܐ

bracelet Zimmern would derive the Ar سوار from the Aramaic²

The Syr ܫܪܪܐ is a fairly common word, and is used to translate צמיר in Gen xxiv, 22, etc, and חת in Ex xxxv, 22, but from the form of the Arabic it would seem rather a direct borrowing from the Akk at some early time, than a borrowing through the Aramaic

Fraenkel, *Fremdw*, 56, thinks سوار is genuine Arabic, but the Muslim authorities were themselves in doubt about it, some of them giving it as of Persian origin (Lane, *Lex*, 1465) The borrowed form was certainly the سوار from which the plu forms were developed

سُورَةٌ (*Sūra*)

ii, 21, ix, 65, 87, 125, 128, x, 39, xi, 16, xxiv 1, xlvii, 22

Sūra

¹ Vullers *Lex* ii 331

² So Meissner in *GGA* 1904 p 756

The passages in which it occurs are all late, and possibly all Madinan. It always means a portion of revelation, and thus was used by Muhammad as a technical term.

The Muslim authorities are quite ignorant of the origin of the word¹. Some took it as connected with سور, meaning a town wall (cf Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 248), others made it mean *مِرْلَة*, an astronomical *statro* (cf *Muhīt*, sub voc.), while others, reading the word *سُورَة* would derive it from *أَسَار* to leave over (Rāghib, op cit, cf also *Itqān*, 121).

The older European opinion was that it was a Jewish word derived from *שורה*, which is used in the Mishnah for row, rank, file. Buxtorf in his *Lexicon* suggested this equivalence, and it was accepted by Noldeke in 1860 in his *Geschichte des Qorans*, p. 24, he has been followed by many later writers². Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, III, 205, however, pointed out the difficulties of this theory, and thought that the origin of the word was to be found in Heb *שורה* (which he would read in Is xxviii, 25), and then, referring to Buxtorf's *שורת הדין lineae quas transsilire impune possumus*, he suggests that the meaning is *κανών* *שורה*, however, is such a doubtful word that one cannot place much reliance on this derivation.

A further difficulty with Noldeke's theory is that *שורה* seems not to be used in connection with Scripture, whereas the Qur'anic *سوره* is exclusively so associated, a fact which has led Hirschfeld (*New Researches*, 2, n. 6) to think that the word is meant to represent the Jewish *סדרה*, the well known technical term for the section marks in the Hebrew Scriptures. This is connected with his theory that *פרקל* is meant to represent the division marks called *פרקים*, which is certainly not the case, and though his suggestion that *سورة*

¹ Fraenkel *Vocab* 22—cuius derivationem Arabes ignorant

² See also his *Neue Beiträge* 26 and Fraenkel *Vocab* 22 *Fremdw* 237 238 Pautz *Offenbarung* 89 von Kremer *Ideen* 226 Vollers *ZDMG* I 324 Klein *Religion of Islam* 3 Cheikho *Nasrāniya* 182 Fischer *Glossar* 60a Horovitz *JPN* 211 Ahrens *Christliches* 19

is due to a misreading of סדרה as סורה is not without its subtlety, we cannot admit that it is very likely that Muhammad learned such a technical term in the way he suggests¹

The most probable solution is that it is from the Syr [√]ܡܥܕܐ a *writing*,² a word which occurs in a sense very like our English *lines* (PSm, 2738), and thus is closely parallel to Muhammad's use of قرآن and كتاب, both of which are likewise of Syriac origin

سَوَاطٍ (Sawt)

lxxxix, 12

A scourge

The Commentators in general interpret the word as *scourge*, though some (cf Zam *in loco*)³ would take it to mean *calamities*, and others in an endeavour to preserve it as an Arabic word from حَلَطٌ = سَاط to mix, want to make it mean "mixing bowl", i.e. a vial of wrath like the φιάλη of Rev xvi

There can be no doubt that *scourge*[√] is the right interpretation, and سَوَاط in this sense would seem to be a borrowing from Aramaic[√]. In Heb שוֹט is a scourge for horses and for men, and Aram שוּטא, Syr ܡܥܕܐ have the same meaning, but are used also in connection with calamities sent by God as a scourge to the people⁴. From Aram the word passed also into Eth as ሰውጥ, plu አሰዋጥ = μάστιξ, *flagellum*, and though Mingana, *Syriac Influence*, 90, thinks the origin was Christian rather than Jewish, it is really impossible to decide. Horovitz, *JPN*, 211, favours an Ethiopic origin, while Torrey *Foundation*, 51, thinks it is mixed Jewish Arabic

¹ So Buhl in *EI* sub voc but his own suggestion of a derivation from سار to mount up, is no happier. See Kunstlinger in *BOS* vii 59^a 600

² Bell, *Origin* 52 the suggestion of derivation from ܡܥܕܐ preaching made by Margolouth, *ERE* x 539 is not so near. Cf Horovitz *JPN* 212

³ Cf also Baiḍ and Bagh and *LA*, ix 199

⁴ Barth *Etymol Stud*, 14 and *ZATW* xxxiii, 306 wants to make it mean flood but see Horovitz *KU* 13

سُوق (Sūq)

xxv, 8, 22

A street

It occurs only in the plu أسواق referring to the streets of the city

In later Arabic سوق normally means a *market place*, but in the Qur'ān it is used as the שוק of the O T and the Targums for *street*, in contradistinction to the Talmudic meaning of *broad place or market* ¹

The philologers derive it from ساق *to drive along* (LA, xii, 33), but Fraenkel, *Fremdw*, 187, is doubtless right in thinking that it is a word taken over by the Arabs from more settled peoples ² The Aram שוקא Syr ܫܘܩܐ commonly mean ὁδός, as well as ἀγορά, and in a Palmyrene inscription (De Vogué xv, 5) we read ܫܘܩܐ ܪܒ ܫܘܩܐ, showing that the word was known in N Arabia'

From some early Mesopotamian source ³ the word passed into Iranian, for we find the Phlv ideogram 𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥 *shōkā* meaning *market, public square, or forum*, whence comes the Judaeo Persian סוך ⁴ From Syriac it passed also into Arm as շուկ in the sense of *market*, ⁵ and it may have been from Christian Aramaic that the word came into Arabic

سِيمَا (Sīmā)

ii, 274, vii, 44, 46, xlvii 32, xlviii, 29, lv, 41

Sign, mark, token

A majority of the Muslim authorities take the word from سام, of which Form II سَوَّمَ means *to mark or brand* an animal, and Form V تَسَوَّمَ *to set a mark on* These, however, are denominative and the

¹ Cooke NSI 280 Cowley Aramaic Papyri No 5

² But see Muller WZKM i 27

³ In Akkadian inscriptions we find *sugu*—a street cf Zimmern *Akkad Fremdw* 43

⁴ PPGI 214 *Frahang Glossary* p 82 It occurs in the Judaeo Persian version of Jer xvii 1 see Horn, *Grundriss* p 84

⁵ Hubschmann ZDMG xlii 247 *Arm Gramm* i 314

primitive meaning of the root is *to pass along* (Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 251) Some, however, as we learn from Baiḍ on vii, 44, ventured to derive it from *وسم* *to brand*

The Qur'ānic form is *سياء*, but in the literature we find *سيمة* and *سيميا* with the same meaning,¹ and they seem all to be derivatives from Gk *σῆμα*, a *sign, mark, or token*, especially one from heaven (Vollers, *ZDMG*, li, 298), i.e. the *σημεῖον* of the N T In the Peshitta *σημεῖον* is generally rendered by ܣܝܡܝܐ (i.e. Heb *אוֹת*, Aram *ܐܘܬܐ*), but in the ecclesiastical literature we find a plu *ܣܝܡܝܐ* which gives us exactly the form we need,² and it may well have been from some colloquial form of this, representing *σῆμα*, that the Arabic *سياء* was derived

سَيْنَاء (*Savnā'*)

xxiii, 20

Mt Sinai

The usual Qur'ānic name for Sinai was *طور* (ii, 60, 87, iv, 153, etc.), and *سياء* was quite generally recognized as a foreign borrowing as Suyūṭī, *Itq*, 322, says that it was considered to be Nabataean,³ though some took it to be Syriac or Abyssinian,⁴ and others claimed that it was genuine Arabic, a form *فيعال* from *السناء* meaning *الارتفاع* It is curious that the exegetes were a little uncertain whether *سياء* meant the mountain itself or the area in which the mountain was⁵

¹ *Kamil* 14 17 The *Muḥiṭ* would derive *سيما* meaning *magic* from *סִימָה* but it is clearly *σημεῖα* through Syr *ܣܝܡܝܐ*

² *Psm* 2613 It occurs also in the Christian Palestinian dialect cf Schulthess *Lex* 135

³ So *Mutaw* 59 and *Bagh* on xxiii, 20 quoting al Muqatīl

⁴ *Bagh* on xxiii 20 quoting al Kalbī and Ikrima

⁵ *Vide Bagh* op cit — هو اسم المكان الذي فيه هذا الجبل — which may be a reflection of ἐν τῷ ἐρημῷ τοῦ οὐρους Σινᾶ

Either the Lth **ܐܬܐ**¹ or the Christ Palast **ܥܬܐ** representing the Gk *Σινᾶ* would give us a nearer equivalence with **سِيَاء** than the Heb **סִינַי** or the usual Syr **ܥܬܐ**, but the Christ Palast **ܥܬܐ ܥܬܐ**,² which is exactly the Ar **طور سياء**, makes the Syriac origin certain³

The **سيسين** of xcv, 2, is obviously a modification of **سياء** for the sake of rhyme,⁴ though some of the Muslim authorities want to make it an Abyssinian word (as Suyūṭī, *Itq*, 322 *Mutaw*, 44) and both Geiger 155, following d'Herbelot,⁵ and Grimme, *Z* 4, xxvi, 167, seek to find some independent origin for it

شِرْك (*Shirk*)

Used very frequently, cf xxxv, 38, xxi 12

To associate anyone with God to give God a partner

In the Qur an the word has a technical sense with reference to what is opposed to Muhammad's conception of monotheism Thus we find **أَشْرَكَ**, to give partners to God i e to be a polytheist, **مُشْرِك** one who gives God a partner, i e a polytheist, **شُرَكَاء**, those to whom the polytheists render honour as partners with God terms which, we may note, are not found in the earliest Sūras

The root **شَرَك** is "to have the shoe strings broken", so **شِرَاك** means *sandal straps*, and **أَشْرَكَ** is "to put leather thongs in sandals", with which we may compare Heb **צָרַף** to lay cross wise, to interweave, Syr **ܥܬܐ** to brand From this the words **شَرَك** a net and **شَرِكَة** a partner

¹ Kunstlinger in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* v (1927) pp 59 ff suggests that it is a descriptive adjective and not a proper name

² Cf the **ܥܬܐ ܥܬܐ** in one of the fragments edited by Schulthess *ZDMG* lvi 257

³ Note the discussion in Geiger 155 n and Horovitz *KU* 123 ff *JPN* 159

⁴ So Horovitz *KU* 123 He notes also that its vowelings represents the older spelling

⁵ See also Sycz *Eigennamen* 57 who however, wrongly writes **سسي** for

ship, i.e. the interweaving of interests, are easily derived. In the technical sense of associating partners with God, however, the word seems to be a borrowing from S. Arabia. In an inscription published by Mordtmann and Muller in *WZKM*, x, 287, there occurs the line—
 𐤔𐤓𐤁)𐤔𐤓 𐤔𐤁𐤕𐤏𐤔 𐤔𐤁)𐤔1 𐤕𐤔𐤔 𐤕𐤏𐤓 “and avoid giving a partner to a Lord who both bringeth disaster, and is the author of well being.” Here 𐤕𐤔𐤔 is used in the technical Qur'ānic sense of ¹شرك and there can be little doubt that the word came to Muhammad, whether directly or indirectly, from some S. Arabian source.

شِعْرَى (Sh'arā)

lu, 50

SIRIUS

The Commentators know that it is the Dog Star, which was anciently worshipped among the Banū Khuzā'a (Bagh and Zam on the passage, and cf. *LA*, vi, 84).

The common explanation of the philologists is that it is from شعر and means “the hairy one”, but there can be little doubt that it is derived from the Gk. ²Σειριος, whose ρ, as Hess shows, is regularly rendered by Ar ع. The word occurs in the old poetry ³ and was doubtless known to the Arabs long before Islam.

شَهْرٌ (Shahr)

ii, 181, 190, etc., iv, 94, v, 2, 98, ix, 2, 5, 36, xxxiv, 11, etc.

Month

¹ The editors of the inscription recognize this and Margoliouth *Schweich Lectures* p. 68, says the Qur'anic technicality *shirk*, the association of other beings with Allah whose source had previously eluded us is here traced to its home. Horovitz *KU* 60-61 however is not so certain and suggests Jewish influence connected with the Rabbinic use of שִׁירָה.

² Hess, *ZS* ii, 221 thinks we have formal proof of the foreign origin of the word in the fact that the Bedouin know only the name مَرَم for this star. *LA* ii 116 and vi 84 gives مَرَم as a synonym for سَمَرَى and this word is found again in the Bishari *Mirdim*.

³ See Hommel *ZDMG* xlv 597 and Horovitz *KU* 119.

Besides the sing we have both plu forms **أَشْهُرُ** and **شُهُور** in the Qur'ān

It occurs only in relatively late passages, mostly Madīnan, and always in the sense of *month*, never with the earlier meaning *moon*

The primitive sense of **شَهَر** is *to publish abroad*, and it was known to some of the early philologists that **شَهَر** meaning *month* was a borrowing, as we learn from as-Suyūṭī, *Itq*, 322, and al Jawahiqī, *Mu'arrab*, 93 The borrowing was doubtless from Aram¹, where alone we find any development of the root in this sense In O Aram **שָׁהַר** as the name of the moon god occurs in the inscriptions of Nerab of the seventh century B C,¹ and in the proper name **נִרְמַאֲלִשְׁהַרִּי** we find it on an inscription from Sinai² In the Targums **סִיְהָרָא** is the *moon*, and like the Syr **ܫܫܬܐܢܐ** and the Aram **ܫܫܬܐܢܐ**, is of quite common use It was from the Aram that the Eth **ሣህር** was derived, and in all probability the Arabic also, though the S Arabian **ሣህር** (Rossini, *Glossarium*, 247) may point to an early development in Arabic itself

شُهَدَاءُ (*Shuhadā'*)

iv, 71, iii, 134, xxxix, 69, lvii, 18

Witnesses

Goldziher in his *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii 387 ff, pointed out the connection of this with the Syr **ܫܫܬܐܢܐ**, which in the Peshitta translates *μάρτυρ*³ The word itself is genuine Arabic, but its sense was influenced by the usage of the Christian communities of the time

شَيْطَانٌ (*Shaitān*)

Of frequent occurrence, cf ii, 34, 271, iv, 85, etc

It occurs (a) as a personal name for the Evil One—o *Ṣaravās*, cf ii, 34, iv, 42, etc

¹ Text in Lidzbarski *Handbuch*, 445

² Lidzbarski op cit 252

³ Vide Horovitz *KU* 50 Schwally *Idioticon* 60

(b) in the plu شياطين, for the hosts of evil, cf ii, 96, vi, 121, etc

(c) metaphorically of evil leaders among men, cf ii, 13, iii, 169, vi, 112, etc

(d) perhaps sometimes merely for mischievous spirits, cf vi, 70, xxi, 82, xxiii, 99

The Muslim authorities were uncertain whether to derive the word from شَطْن to be far from, or from شَاط to burn with anger (cf Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 261, and *LA*, xvii, 104, *TA*, ix, 253) The form فَيْعَال, however, is rather difficult It is true, as the philologists state, that we do get forms like حيران *perplexed*, but this is from حَار where the ن is no part of the root, and, like the عِيَان هِيْمَان quoted as parallels in *LA*, is really a form فَعْلَان not فَيْعَال, and is a diptote whereas شَيْطَان is a triptote The real analogy would be with such forms as 'babbler, هِيصَار *mangled*, and هِيْدَام *courageous*, quoted by Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i, 344, but these are all rare adjectival forms and hardly parallel the Qur'ānic شَيْطَان

Now we learn from the Lexicons that Shaitān has the meaning of snake—حَيَّةٌ لَهُ عُزْف (LA, xvii, 104, 105), and we find this meaning in the old poets, e g in a Rejez poet—

عُجْرْد تَحْلِفُ حِينَ أَحْلَفُ كَشَلْ شَيْطَانِ الْحَمَاطِ أَعْرِفُ

“A foul tongued woman who swears when I swear, like the crested serpent from Al Hamāt,”

and in a verse of Tarafa,

تَلَاعِبُ مَتَى حَصْرِيَّ كَاهُ تَعَمَّجُ شَيْطَانُ بَدَى حُرُوعِ قَهْرُ

“They (the reins) play on the back of the Haḍramaut camel, like a snake's writhings in the desert where the Khirwa' grows”

Moreover, we find Shaitān used as a personal name in ancient

Arabia¹ The *Aghānī*, xv, 53, mentions الشيطان بن بكر بن عوف among the ancestors of 'Alqama, and Ibn Duraid mentions a عاهار بن الشيطان (240, l 4) and a شيطان بن الحارث (243, l 3)² As a tribal name we find a sub tribe of the Banū Kinda called شو شيطان in *Aghānī*, xx, 97, and in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, iii, 356, we have mention of a branch of the Banū Tamim of the same name This use is probably totemistic in origin, for we find several totem clans among the ancient Arabs, such as the مو حية who in the early years of Islam were the ruling caste of the Tayyī (*Aghānī*, xvi, 50, l 7), the مو افعی (Hamdānī, 91, l 16), the مو حمش a sub tribe of Aus (Ibn Duraid, 260, 2), etc.³ The serpent was apparently an old Semitic totem,⁴ and as a tribal name associated with one of the many branches of the Snake totem van Vloten and Goldziher take شيطان to be an old Arabic word⁵

That the Arabs believed serpents to have some connection with supernatural powers, was pointed out by Noldeke in the *Zeitschrift für Volkerpsychologie*, i 412 ff, and van Vloten has shown that they were connected with demons and evil,⁶ so that the use of the name

شيطان for the Evil One could be taken as a development from this

The use of شيطان in the Qur'ān in the sense of mischievous spirits, where it is practically equivalent to Jinn, can be paralleled from the

¹ Vide Goldziher *ZDMG* xlv 685 and *Abhandlungen* i 106 van Vloten in *Feestbundel aan de Goeje* 37 ff Horowitz *KU* 120

² So we find a سلطان بن مدح of the tribe of Jusham (*TA* iv 29) and in *Usd al Ghaba* i 343, we find a man روم بن السلطان while in the *Diran* of Tufail (ed Krenkow iii 37) there is mention of a certain Shaṭṭah b al Hakam

³ Vide the discussion in Robertson Smith *Kinship* 229 ff

⁴ Vide Robertson Smith in *Journal of Philology* ix 99 ff G B Gray *Hebrew Proper Names* p 91 and Baudissin *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* i pp 257-292

⁵ Goldziher *Abhandlungen* i 10 van Vloten *Feestbundel aan de Goeje* 38 ff Also Sprenger *Leben* ii 242 n 2 Wellhausen however *Reste* 157 n thinks that this has been substituted for some earlier name and is not itself an old Arabic name

⁶ Vide his essay Dämonen Geister und Zauber bei den alten Arabern in *WZKM* vii particularly pp 174-8, and see Goldziher *Abhandlungen* i 6 ff

old poetry, and would fit this early serpent connection, but the theological connotations of Shaitān as leader of the hosts of evil, is obviously derived from Muhammad's Jewish or Christian environments. In the Rabbinic writings שָׂטָן is used in this sense, as are the Gk Σατάν and the Syr ܫܬܢ ¹ From the Syr come the Arm ܫܬܢ ² and also the Phlv ideogram 𐭮𐭩𐭥𐭩 (PPGI, 209), the 𐭮𐭩𐭥𐭩 *Shūdān* of the Paikuli fragment, ³ III, 2, but it is from the Eth 𐩨𐩣𐩪𐩬 which occurs beside 𐩨𐩣𐩪𐩬 for ο διαβολος, that many scholars have sought to derive the Ar شيطان ⁴ Whether this is so it is now perhaps impossible to determine, but we may take it as certain that the word was in use long before Muhammad's day, ⁵ and he in his use of it was undoubtedly influenced by Christian, probably Abyssinian Christian, usage (Fischer, *Glossar*, 165, thinks that the word is from שָׂטָן but influenced by the genuine Arabic شيطان meaning demon)

شِيعَة (Shī'a)

vi, 65, 160, xv, 10, xix, 70, xxviii, 3, 14, xxx, 31, xxxiv, 54, xxxvii, 81, liv, 51

Sect or party

Both plurals أَشْيَاع and شِيعَة are used in the Qur'ān

The verb شَاع in the sense of *to be published abroad*, occurs in xiv, 18, and it is usual for the Muslim authorities to derive شِيعَة from this (cf Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 272) Schwally, *Idroticon*, 61, however, points out that in the meaning of *sect* the word has developed under

¹ ܫܬܢ is the form on the incantation bowls cf Montgomery *Aramaic Incantation Texts* Glossary 296

² Hübschmann *Arm Gramm*, I, 316

³ Herzfeld *Paikuli* Glossary p 243 Of the same origin is also the Soghdian 𐰽𐰺𐰭 (Henning *Manichaisches Beibuch* 1937 p 142)

⁴ Nöldeke *Neue Beiträge*, 47 Pautz *Offenbarung*, 48, Ahrens *Muhammed* 92 Rudolph, *Abhangigkeit* 34 Margolouth, *ERE* x 540 Praetorius, *ZDMG* lx 619-620 thinks the Eth is derived from the Arabic but see Nöldeke, op cit against him

⁵ Wellhausen *Reste*, 157 and see Horovitz, *KU* 121

Syrian Christian[✓] influence, Syr **صَبَا** being a *faction* as well as group (*agmen*, *πληθος*), *PSm*, 2576

الصَّابِئُونَ (*As-Sābi ūn*)

11, 59, v, 73, xxii, 17¹

The Sābians

Like the **اهل الكتاب** and the Magians, they represent a group specially honoured in the Qur'ān as **الذين آمنوا**, but whom they represent, is still an unsolved puzzle

The exegetes had no idea what people was meant by **الصَّابِئُونَ**, as is evident from the long list of conflicting opinions given by Tab on 11, 59. They also differed as to its derivation, some taking it from **صَا** to long for (*Shahrastānī*, ed Cureton, 203), and others from **صَا**, which they say means *to change one's religion* (Tab, loc cit)

Bell, *Origin*, 60, 148, is inclined to think that the word is just a play on the name of the Sabaeen Christians of S Arabia. He himself notes the difficulties of this theory, and though it has in its favour the fact that an-Nasafī on xxii, 17, calls the Sābians **بوع من الصَّارِي**, the fact that Muhammad himself was called a Sābī by his contemporaries,² seems to show that the word was used technically in his milieu, and is not a mere confusion with Sabaeen. Grimme, *Mohammed*, 1904, p 49, also looked to S Arabia for the origin of the word, which he would relate to Eth **Ṣ-Ḍḏ**, whose secondary meaning is *tributum pendere*, and which he would interpret as "Almosen spendend". This, however, is somewhat far fetched³

Wellhausen's theory *Reste*, 237, was that it was from Aram **ܨܒܝܐ**, and given to the sect or sects because of their baptismal[✓]

¹ Sprenger *Leben* 11, 184 thinks we should read **صَابَا** in xix 13 referring to John the Baptist

² Bukhari (ed Krehl) 1 96 97 11 387 388, Ibn Hisham 229 and the verse of Saraqa in *Aghani* xv 138

³ Vide Rudolph *Abhängigkeit*, 74 n

practices¹ We find this צבא to baptize in Mandaean (Noldeke, *Mand Gramm*, 235), and as Brandt points out,² we find the root in the sect names Μασβωθαιοι and Σεβουαιοι It, as Pedersen holds,³ the Sabians are Gnostics, this derivation is probably as near as we are likely to attain

صِبْغَة (Sibgha)

ii, 132

Baptism

The passage is Madinan and is a polemic against the Jews and Christians, so that صبغة would seem to be a reference to Christian baptism⁴

صِغ is probably to dye, and صِغ dye, tincture (cf Syr صِغ) occurs in xxiii 20, meaning juice It is possible that صِغ in all its

meanings is a borrowed word, though in this case the ع would show that it must have been very early naturalized In any case it is clear that the meaning baptism is due to Christian influence

From צבא = Aram צבא to dip, it was an easy transition to to baptize, and particularly in the Christian Palestinian dialect we get צבא to baptize, צבא to be baptized, מבטבט baptism, מבטבט baptist (Schulthess, *Lex*, 166, *PSm*, 3358) The Christian reference of صبغة is clear from Zam on the passage, and the influence was probably Syriac ~

صُف (Suhuf)

xx, 133, liii, 37, lxxiv, 52, lxxx, 13, lxxxı, 10, lxxxvii, 18, 19, xcviıı, 2

¹ Rudolph, op cit pp 68 69 Pautz *Offenbarung* 148 n with less likelihood suggests the Syr צבא become צב

² *Die jüdischen Baptismen* 112 ff See also Horowitz *KU* 121 122

³ Browne *Festschrift* p 383 ff Torrey *Foundation* 3 assumes that the Sabians were the Mandaeans but this is questionable Cf Ahrens, *Muhammed* 10

⁴ So Rudolph *Abhängigkeit* 75, and Lane *Lex* sub voc though Ullmann *Koran* 14, would take it to refer to circumcision

Plu of صحيفه—a page of writing

It is one of the technical terms connected with Muhammad's conception of heavenly Books. All the passages save xcvi, 2, are early, and some of them very early.

Horovitz, *KU*, 69, is doubtless right in thinking that Muhammad used it as a general term for such sacred writings as were known at least by hearsay to the Arabs, and as such it could be applied later to his own revelations. The word occurs not infrequently in the old poetry in the sense of pages of writing, e.g. in 'Antara, xxvii, 2 (Ahlwardt, *Divans*, p. 52)—

كوحى صحائف من عهد كسرى فاهداها لاغم طمطى

"Like a message on pages from the time of Chosroes, which I sent to a tongue tied foreigner,"

or the verses in *Aghānī*, xx, 24—

كتاب في الصحيفة من لقيط الى من بالحريره من إباد

"A page of writing from Laqit to whatever Iyādites are in al Jazīrah" ¹

The philologists have no adequate explanation of the word from Arabic material, for صحف is obviously denominative ² It is in S. Arabia that we find the origin of the word. Grimme, *ZA*, xxvi 161, quotes XϷϷ with its plu ϷϷϷ from the S. Arabian inscriptions, ³ and in Eth ጸሐፊ to write is in very common use, ⁴ while ማጽሐፍ meaning both *scriptura* and *liber* is clearly the source of the Ar مصحف so commonly used in later times for the Qur'ān ⁵ The use of the word in the early literature shows that it was a word already borrowed

¹ Also Mutalammis (ed. Vollers *Beitr. Ass.* v 171) and further references by Goldziher in *ZDMG* xlvii 19. Noldeke Schwally i 11 notes that in the poetry it never means a collection of writings in a book as Muhammad uses it.

² Fraenkel *Fremdw.* 248

³ Glaser 424 8 11 Halévy 199 8 and cf. Rossini *Glossarium* 223

⁴ Dillmann *Lex.* 1266 ff. Pautz, *Offenbarung* 123 n. is inclined to derive the Qur'anic word from Ethiopic.

⁵ Grohmann *WZKM* xxxii 244. This was also in use in pre-Islamic Arabia as Andrae *Ursprung* 36 notes and was borrowed by the Jews of תורה מִצְחָק (Noldeke *Neue Beiträge* 50 n.) *Itqan* 120 makes it clear that مصحف was recognized as Abyssinian in origin.

from S Arabia in pre Islamic times¹ and thus ready to Muhammad's hand for his technical use of it in connection with sacred writings

صَدَقَةٌ (*Sadaqa*)

ii, 192, 265, 266, 273, 277, iv, 114, ix, 58, 60, 80, 104, 105, lviii, 13, 14

Alms, tithes

The denominative verb تَصَدَّقَ *to give alms*, occurs in ii, 280, v, 49, xii, 88, أَصَدَّقَ in iv, 94, ix, 76, lxiii, 10, and the participles

مُصَدِّقٌ and مُتَصَدِّقٌ are used several times, e.g. ii, 38, 85, xxxiii, 35

These passages are all late, and the word is used only as a technical religious term, just like Heb צדקה, Phon צדק, Syr ܐܕܠܐ

The Muslim authorities derive the word from صَدَقَ *to be sincere*, and say that *alms* are so called because they prove the sincerity of one's faith. The connection of the root with צדק is sound enough, but as a technical word for *alms* there can be no doubt that it came from a Jewish or Christian source. Hirschfeld, *Beitrage*, 89, argues for a Jewish origin,² which is very possible. The Syr ܐܕܠܐ with ܐ for ܐ would seem fatal to a derivation from a Christian source, but in the Christian Palestinian dialect we find ܐܕܠܐ translating ελεημοσύνη in common use in several forms,³ which makes it at least possible that the source of the Arabic word is to be found there

صِدِّيقٌ (*Siddiq*)

iv, 71, xii, 46, xix, 42, 57, lvii, 18, and صَدِيقَةٌ v, 79

A person of integrity

Obviously it may be taken as a genuine Arabic formation from

صَدَق on the measure فَعِيل, though this form is not very common

¹ Fraenkel in *Beitr Ass* iii 69 Noldeke *Neue Beitrage* 50 Cheikho *Nasranaya* 181 222 Horovitz *KU* 69 Zimmern, *Akkad Fremdw* 19

² So Fraenkel *Vocab* 20 Sprenger *Leben* ii 195 n Rudolph, *Abhangigkeit* 61 Ahrens *Muhammed* 180 von Kremer *Streifzüge* p ix

³ Schulthess *Lex* 167 Schwally *Idioticon* 79 and cf Horovitz *JPN* 212

As used in the Qur'an, however, it seems to have a technical sense, being used in the sing only of Biblical characters, and in the plu as "the righteous", and for this reason it has been thought that we can detect the influence of the Heb Aram צדיק. Thus Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften*, II, 594, says "Das Wort ist dem heb aram צדיק entlehnt, mit Verwandlung des Vocals der ersten Silbe in *ā* nach dem bekannten reinarabischen اتباع"

In the O T צדיק means *just, righteous*, and is generally rendered by *δίκαιος* in the LXX. In the Rabbīmic צדיק the sense of piety becomes even more prominent and it is used in a technical sense for *the pious*, as in *Succa*, 45, b. It is precisely in this sense that Joseph, Abraham, and Idris are called صديق, and the Virgin Mary صديقة in the Qur'an, and there can be little doubt that both the Arabic صديق and the Eth 𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩠 are of this Aram¹ origin¹.

صِرَاط (Sirāt)

Occurs some forty five times, e g 1, 5, 6, 11, 136, 209, etc

A Way

The word is used only in a religious sense, usually with the adj مستقيم, and though frequently used by Muhammad to indicate his own preaching, it is also used of the teaching of Moses (xxxvii, 118) and Jesus (iii, 44), and sometimes means the religious way of life in general (cf vii, 15).

The early Muslim authorities knew not what to make of the word. They were not sure whether it was to be spelled صراط, سراط, or رراط,² and they were equally uncertain as to its gender, al Akhfash

¹ Cf Horovitz *KU* 49 Vacca *EI* iv 402 Ahrens *Christliches* 19 Grimme *ZA* xxvi 162 thought it was of S Arabian origin and this may be supported by the occurrence of 𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩠 = Šiddiq (?) as a proper name in the inscription Glaser 265 (= *CIS* iv No 287) though the vocalization here may be Šadiq (Rossini, *Glossarium* 222 of Ryckmans *Noms propres* i 182 269). The Phon name Σῦδικ may also represent צדיק (Harris, *Glossary* 141).

² Vide Bagh on i 6 and Jawhari sub voc

propounding a theory that in the dialect of Hijāz it was fem and in the dialect of Tamīm masc Many of the early philologists recognized it as a foreign word, as we learn from as-Suyūṭī, *Itq*, 322, *Muzhūr*, 1, 130, *Mutaw*, 50 They said it was Greek,¹ and are right in so far as it was from the Hellenized form of the Lat *strata* that the word passed into Aram² and thence into Arabic

The word was doubtless first introduced by the Roman administration into Syria and the surrounding territory, so that *strata* became *στράτα* (cf Procopius, II, 1), and thence Aram אסרטיא, אסרטיא, אסרטיא, אסרטיא¹, Syr ܐܣܪܬܐ² From Aram³ it was an early borrowing into Arabic, being found in the early poetry³

صَرْح (Sarh)

xxvii, 44, xxviii, 38, xl, 38

Tower

The Lexicographers were not very sure of its meaning They generally take it to mean a *palace* or some magnificent building (Jawharī), or the name of a castle (*TA*, II, 179), while some say it means

glass tiles—لَا ط من قواریر All these explanations, however, seem to be drawn from the Qur'anic material, and they do not explain

how the word can be derived from صرح

Noldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, 51, pointed out that in all probability the word is from Eth אצח a room, sometimes used for *templum*, sometimes for *palatrum*, but as Dillmann, *Lex*, 1273, notes, always for *aedes altiores conspicuae* This is a much likelier origin than the Aram צריח, which, though in the Targum to Jud ix, 49, it means *citadel* or *fortified place*, usually means a deep cavity in a rock, and is the

equivalent of Ar صريح not of صرح⁴ It is doubtful if the word

¹ Cf Krauss *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud* II 82 413 A parallel formation is סרדיח (= סרטיח) = στρατιωτης

² Of particular interest is the fact that in an eschatological sense it passed from Aramaic into Pahlavi as 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭲 *srat* Cf Bailey in *JRAS* 1934 p 505

³ Fraenkel *Vocab* 25 von Kremer *Ideen* 226 n Dvořák *Fremdw* 26 31 76 Vollers *ZDMG* I 614 II 314

⁴ Hoffmann, *ZA* XI 322 What Fraenkel *Fremdw* 237 means by צרחת I know not

occurs in the genuine old poetry, but it is found in the S^Y Arabian inscriptions, where $\text{X}\Psi\text{)}\text{𐤀}$, $\text{X}\Psi\text{)}\text{𐤀}$ = aedificium elatum (Rossini, *Glossarium*, 225)

صَلَبَ (Salaba)

iv, 156, v, 37, vii, 121, xii, 41, xx, 74, xxvi, 49

To crucify

The passages are all relatively late. Once it refers to the crucifixion of our Lord (iv, 156), once to the crucifixion of Joseph's prison companion (xii, 41), and in all the other passages to a form of punishment which Muhammad seems to have considered was a favourite pastime of Pharaoh, but which in v, 37, he holds out as a threat against those who reject his mission.

The word cannot be explained from Arabic, as the verb is denomina-

tive from صَلِبَ. This صَلِبَ occurs in the old poetry, e.g. an Nābigha, ii, 10 (Ahlwardt, *Divans*, p. 4), and 'Adī b. Zaid (*Aghānī*, ii, 24), etc., and is doubtless derived from Aram ܠܝܒܐ , Syr ܠܝܒܐ , as Fraenkel, *Fremdw.*, 276, claims. The word is not original in Aram, however, and perhaps came originally from some Iranian source from a root

represented by the Pers چلیا (Vollers, *ZDMG*, i, 614). Mingana, *Syriac Influence*, 86, claims that it was from Syr. rather than from Jewish Aram. that the word came to Arabic, and as the Eth ተጸለ seems to be of this origin,¹ it may be so.²

صَلَوَاتٍ (Salawāt)

xxii, 41

Places of worship

Though the Commentators are not unanimous as to its meaning they are in general agreed that it means the synagogue of the Jews, and as such many of them admit that it is a borrowing from Heb. (Baid and Zam. on the passage³ al Jawālīqī, *Mu'arrab*, 95, as Suyūṭī,

¹ The form ܠܝܒܐ is later and derived from the Arabic (Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge* 35)

² So Ahrens *Christliches* 40

³ That it was a borrowing is evident from the large crop of variant readings of the word noted by al Ukbarī *Imla* ii 89

Itq, 322, al Khafajī, 123, as Sijistānī, 201) This idea that it is Hebrew is derived, of course, from the notion that the word means synagogues. It could be from the Aram צְלוּתָא which means *prayer*, but the theory of Ibn Jinnī in his *Muhtasab*, quoted by as Suyūṭī, *Mutaw*, 55, that it is Syriac,¹ is much more likely,¹ for though صَلَوةٌ means *prayer*, the commonly used صَلَوةٌ صَلَا means a place of prayer, i.e. προσευχή, which Rudolph, *Abhängigkeit*, 7, n,² would take as the reference in the Qur'ānic passage. As we find Χοίρα = *chapel* in a S. Arabian inscription,³ however, it is possible that the word first passed into S. Arabian and thence into the northern language.

صَلَّى (Sallā)

Of very frequent occurrence

To pray

Besides the verb we find in the Qur'an صَلَّوْهُ *prayer*, مُصَلٍّ *one who prays*, and مَضَلَّى *place of prayer* صَلَّى, however, is denominative from صَلَّوْهُ, as Sprenger, *Leben*, III, 527, n. 2, had noted,⁴ and صَلَّوْهُ itself seems to have been borrowed from an Aramaic source (Noldeke, *Qorans*, 255, 281).

The origin, of course, is from צְלוּתָא = صَلَوةٌ, as has been generally recognized,⁵ for the Eth צָלוּ is from the same source (Noldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, 36). It may have been from Jewish Aramaic but more probably from Syr,⁶ for the common phrase اقام الصلاة, as Wensinck, *Joden*, 105, notes, is good Syriac. It was an early borrowing (Horowitz, *JPN*, 185), used in the early poets and thus quite familiar

¹ Fraenkel *Vocab* 21 Dvořák *Fremdw* 31 Schwally *Idioticon* 80 125

² See also Pautz *Offenbarung* 149

³ Hommel *Sudarab Chrest* 125 Rossini *Glossarium* 224

⁴ The primary meaning of صَلَّى is *to roast* cf. Heb צָלוּ Eth צָלוּ al Khafajī 124 seems to feel that صَلَّى is a borrowed form

⁵ Fraenkel *Vocab* 21 Wensinck *EI Art Salat* Bell *Origin* 51 91 142 Pautz, *Offenbarung* 149 Rudolph *Abhängigkeit* 56 Grünbaum *ZDMG* xl 275 Mittwoch *Entstehungsgeschichte des islamischen Gebets* pp 6 7 ff Zimmern *Akkad Fremdw* 65 Ahrens *Muhammed* 117

⁶ Mingana, *Syriac Influence* 86 Schwally *Idioticon* 80 125

in pre-Islamic days,¹ and the substantive 𐤎𐤊𐤍 *preces* is found in the S Arabian inscriptions (Rossini, *Glossarium*, 224)

صَم (Sanam)

vi, 74, vii, 134, xiv, 38, xxi, 58, xxvi, 71

An idol

Found only in the plu أصام, and only in relatively late passages. It is curious that it occurs only in connection with the Abraham legend, save in one passage (vii, 134), where it refers to the Canaanites.

As we find 𐤎𐤊𐤍 in the S Arabian inscriptions,² D H Muller, *WZKM*, i, 30, would regard صم as a genuine Arabic word. It has, however, no explanation from Arabic material, and the philologists are driven to derive it from شَمى meaning وَشَى (*LA*, xv, 241, al Khafaji, 124).

It was doubtless an early borrowing from Aramaic. The root צלם appears to be common Semitic,³ cf Akk *salmu*⁴ and Ar صَلَمَ to cut off, so Heb צלם, Phon צלם, Aram צלמא, Syr ܥܠܡܐ, an image, would doubtless mean something cut out of wood or stone. צלמא and צלמתא occur not infrequently in the Nabataean inscriptions (*RES*, ii, 467, 477, Cook, *Glossary*, 101),⁵ and it was from some such Aram form that the word came into use in N Arabia,⁶ giving us the צנמת we find in a Safaite inscription,⁷ the صم of the early Arabic poetry and of the Qur'ān, and perhaps a Nabataean צנم in an inscription from Madā'in Sālih.⁸

¹ Noldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, 29 and cf Geyer, *Zwei Gedichte* i 203 = *Diwan* iv 11

² *CIS* iv No ii 1 4 and see Gildemeister *ZDMG* xxiv 180 *RES* ii 485

³ But see Noldeke *ZDMG* xl 733

⁴ Zimmern, *Akkad Fremdw* 8

⁵ So the S Arabian 𐤎𐤊𐤍 (Rossini *Glossarium*, 224 *RES* ii 485)

⁶ Fraenkel *Fremdw* 273 Pautz *Offenbarung* 175, n 2 Robertson Smith *Kinshp* 300

⁷ Halévy in *JA* vii^e série xvii, 222

⁸ *RES*, ii No 1128

صَوَاعُ (*Suwā'*)

xii, 72

A drinking cup

It occurs only in the Joseph story for the king's drinking cup which was put in Benjamin's sack

The word was a puzzle to the exegetes and we find a fine crop of variant readings—صاع, صوع, صاع, صوع, or صَوَاع, besides the accepted صَوَاع. Either صاع or صوع would make it mean a measure for grain, and صاع or صوع would probably mean something fashioned or moulded, e g a gold ornament

The Muslim authorities take the word as Arabic, but Noldeke has shown that it is the Eth ጸዋቤ, which is actually the word used of Pharaoh's cup in the Joseph story of Gen xl¹ in the Ethiopic Bible

صَوَامِعُ (*Sawāmi'*)

xxii, 41

Plu of صَوَامِعُ a cloister

The Commentators differ among themselves as to whether it stands for a Jewish, a Christian, or a Sābian place of worship. They agree, however, in deriving it from صمع (cf Ibn Duraid, 166), and Fraenkel agrees,² thinking that originally it must have meant a high tapering building.³ The difficulty of deriving it from صمع, however, is obvious, and al Khafājī, 123, lists it as a borrowed word.

Its origin is apparently to be sought in S Arabia, from the word that is behind the Eth ጸዋቤ a hermit's cell (Noldeke, *Beitrage*,

¹ *Neue Beitrage* 55² *Fremdw* 269

³ It certainly has the meaning of *minaret* in such passages as *Aghani* xx 85 *Amali* ii 79 *Jahiz Mahasin* 161, and Dozy *Supplement* i 845. So the Judaeo Tunisian *ḥḥḥḥ* means *campanile* (Noldeke *Neue Beitrage* 52). Lammens *ROC* ix (1904), pp 35, 33 suggests that originally *صومعه* meant the *pillar* of a *Stylite* as yet c

52),¹ though we have as yet no S Arabian word with which to compare it

صُورَة (Sūra)

xl, 66, lxiv, 3, lxxxii, 8

Form, picture

We also find the denominative verb صَوَّرَ in iii, 4, vii, 10, xl, 66, lxiv, 3

That the philologists had some difficulty with the word is evident from the Lexicons, cf *LA*, vi, 143, 144 The word has no root in Arabic, for it does not seem possible to explain it from a *صور* which means *to incline a thing towards* (cf Heb סוּר *to turn aside*, and the *sūru*, *to rebel* of the Amarna tablets)

Fraenkel, *Fremdw*, 272, suggests, therefore, that it is derived from the Syr ܣܘܪܐ *form, image, figure*, from a root ܣܘܪ *to describe, picture, form* (cf Heb צוּר *to delineate*) In Aram also צוּרָא and צוּרְתָא mean *picture, form*, and in the S Arabian inscriptions we find 𐩦𐩣𐩪 not infrequently with the meaning of *image*² It is very probable that it was from S Arabia that the word came into use in the North,³ and doubtless at an early period, as it occurs in the early poetry

صَوْم (Saum) and صِيَام (Siyām)

ii, 179, 183, 192, iv, 94, v, 91, 96, xix, 27, lviii, 5

Fasting

The verb occurs in ii, 180, 181, and the participle in xxxiii, 35,

صَام being obviously denominative from صوم

It will be noticed that the passages are all late, and that the word is a technical religious term, which was doubtless borrowed from some outside source That there were Jewish influences on the Qur'ānic

¹ Rudolph *Abhangigkeit* 7 n

² Vide Hommel, *Chrestomath* 125 Mordtmann *Himyar Insch*, 14 15 Rossini *Glossarium* 223

³ So Zimmern *Akkad Fremdw* 27

teaching about fasting has been pointed out by Wensinck, *Joden*, 120 ff,¹ while Sprenger, *Leben*, III, 55 ff, has emphasized the Christian influence thereon. In Noldeke Schwally, I, 179–180, attention is drawn to the similarity of the Qur'ānic teaching with fasting as practised among the Manichaeans, and Margolouth, *Early Development*, 149, thinks its origin is to be sought in some system other than the Jewish or Christian, though doubtless influenced by both, so it is not easy to determine the origin of the word till we have ascertained the origin of the custom.

Fraenkel, *Vocab*, 20, would derive it from the Heb צום,² but it is more likely to have come from Aram צום, Syr' ܥܘܡ, which is also the source of the Eth 𐩦𐩣𐩪 (Noldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, 36), and the Arm Ժամ³. The Syr form is the nearer phonologically to the Arabic and may thus be the immediate source, as Mingana, *Syrac Influence*, 86, urges. The word would seem to have been in use in Arabia before Muhammad's day,⁴ but whether fasting was known in other Arab communities than those of the Jews and Christians is uncertain.⁵

طَاعُوتٌ (*Tāghūt*)

II, 257, 259, IV, 54, 63, 78, V, 65, XVI, 38, XXXIX, 19

Idolatry

This curious word is used by Muhammad to indicate an alternative to the worship of Allah, as Raghib, *Mufradāt*, 307, recognizes. Men are warned to 'serve Allah and avoid Tāghūt' (XVI, 38, XXXIX, 19), those who disbelieve are said to fight in the way of Taghūt and have Tāghūt as their patron (IV, 78, II, 259), some seek oracles from Tāghūt (IV, 63), and the People of the Book are reproached because some of them, though they have a Revelation, yet believe in Taghūt (IV, 54, V, 65).

It is thus clearly a technical religious term, but the Commentators know nothing certain about it. From Tab and Bagh on II, 257, we

¹ Cf Schwally *Idioticon*, 74

² Grünbaum, *ZDMG* xl 275 is uncertain whether from Heb or Aram cf also Pautz *Offenbarung*, 150 n 3

³ Hubschmann *Arm Gramm* I 306

⁴ Cheikho *Nasraniya* 179

⁵ Schwally *Idioticon* 74 n. Natürlich müssen auch die heidnischen Araber das Fasten als religiöse Übung gehabt haben aber das vom Islam eingeführte Fasten empfanden sie als ein Novum

learn that some thought it meant الشيطان, others الساحر or الكاهن, others أوثران or أصدام, and some thought it a name for al Lāt and al 'Uzzā. The general opinion, however, is that it is a genuine Arabic word, a form فعلوت from طعى to go beyond the limit (LA, xix, 232, TA, x, 225, and Rāghib, op cit.) This is plausible, but hardly satisfactory, and we learn from as Suyūṭī, *Itq*, 322 *Mutaw*, 37, that some of the early authorities recognized it as a loan word from Abyssinian

Geiger, 56, sought its origin in the Rabbinic שעות error which is sometimes used for idols, as in the Jerusalem Talmud, *Sanh*, x, 28^d, אִי לָכֶם וּלְשַׁעוֹתֵיכֶם “woe to you and to your idols”, and whose cognate שעותא is frequently used in the Targums for idolatry,¹ a meaning easily developed from the primary verbal meaning of שעה to go astray (cf Heb שעה, Syr ܫܥܐ, Ar طعى)

Geiger has had many followers in this theory of a Jewish origin for Tāghūt,² but others have thought a Christian origin more probable. Schwally, *Idioticon*, 38, points out that whereas in Edessene Syriac the common form is ܫܥܘܬܐ meaning error, yet in the Christian-Palestinian dialect we find the form ܫܥܘܬܐ,³ which gives quite as close an equivalent as the Targumic שעותא. The closest parallel, however, is the Eth ጣጥ from an unused verbal root ጠፀ (the equivalent of طعى, شעה), which primitively means defection from the true religion, and then is used to name any superstitious beliefs, and also is a common word for idols, translating the εἰδωλα of both the LXX and NT. It is probable, as Noldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, 35, notes, that this word itself is ultimately derived from Aramaic, but we can be reasonably certain that as Suyūṭī's authorities were right in giving the Arabic word an Abyssinian origin.⁴

¹ Geiger 203 and see examples in Levy *TW* i 312

² Von Kremer *Ideen* 226 n. Fraenkel *Vocab* 23 Pautz *Offenbarung* 175 Eickmann *Angelologie* 48 Margolouth *ERE* vi 249 Hirschfeld *Jüdische Elemente* 65

³ Schulthess *Lex* 76 Mingana *Syriac Influence* 85 also holds to a Syr origin for the word

⁴ Noldeke op cit 48. It should be noted however that in the incantation texts שעותא means false deity which is very close to the Qur'anic usage. Cf Montgomery *Aramaic Incantation Texts* p 290

طَالُوتُ (*Tālūt*)

11, 248, 250

Saul

Some of the early authorities know that it was a foreign word Baiḍ tells us that it is **اسم عری**, and al Jawahiqī, *Mu'arrab*, 103, al Khafājī, 128, give it as non Arabic

The Heb word is **שָׂאוּל**,¹ and none of the Christian forms derived therefrom give us any parallel to **طالوت** The philologists derive his name from **طال** to be tall, evidently influenced by the Biblical story, as we see from Bagh on 11, 248 Geiger, 182, suggested that **طالوت** was a rhyming formation from **طال** to parallel **حالت** The word is not known earlier than the Qur'an,² and would seem to be a formation of Muhammad himself from **שָׂאוּל**, a name which he may not have heard or remembered correctly, and formed probably under the influence of **طال** to rhyme with **حالت**³

طَع (*Taba'a*)

iv, 154, vii, 98, 99, ix, 88, 94, x, 75, xvi, 110, xxx, 59, xl, 37, xlvii, 18, lxiii, 3

To seal

Only found in late Meccan and Madinan passages, and always in the technical religious sense of God "sealing up the hearts" of un-believers

The primitive meaning of the Semitic root seems to be *to sink in*, cf Akk *tēbū* *to sink in*, *tabbī'u*, *diver*, Heb **טָבַע**, Aram **טָבַע**, Syr **ܬܒܥ**, *to sink*, Eth **ጠፋ**, *to dip, to immerse*⁴ From this came

¹ This was known to the Commentators e g ath Tha labī *Qiyas* 185 says that his name in Heb is **שָׂאוּל בֶּן קִישׁ** which is a very fair representation of **سَاول بن قيس**

² The occurrence in Samau al is obviously not genuine cf Noldeke, *ZA* xxvii 178

³ Horovitz *KU* 123 *JPN* 163

⁴ Maybe the Ar **طَع** *rust* represents this primitive sense

the more technical use for a die, e g Phon טבע *corn*¹, Akk *tmbu'u*, *signet ring*, Heb טבעת *signet*, Syr ܬܒܥܬܐ *seal* (σφραγίς) and *corn* (νομισμα)

Fraenkel, *Fremdw*, 193, pointed out that in this sense of sealing the Arabic verb is denominative from طاع which is derived from the Syr^v ܬܒܥܬܐ² We actually find ܬܒܥܬܐ used in the sense of *obstupefecit* in Eph Syr, ed Overbeck, 95, l 26—ܬܒܥܬܐ ܬܒܥܬܐ ܬܒܥܬܐ, and טבע occurs in the incantation texts (Montgomery, *Aramarc Incantation Texts*, Glossary, p 105)

طَوَّ (Tabaq)

lxvii, 3, lxxi, 14, lxxiv, 19

Stage or degree

The form طَبَاق used in lxvii, 3, lxxi, 14, is really the plu of طَبَقَة

It is used only of the stages of the heavens, both in a physical and a spiritual sense, and for this reason, Zimmermann, *Akkad Fremdw*, 46, derives it directly from Mesopotamia, the Akk *tubuqtu*, plu *tubuqāti*, meaning *Weltraume* (*wohl in 7 Stufen übereinander gedacht*)

طَهَّرَ (Tahara)

Occurs very frequently, e g iii, 37, v, 45

To make clean or pure

The root itself is genuine Arabic, and may be compared with Aram טהר *to be clean*, Syr ܬܗܪܐ, Heb טהר *brightness*, Heb טהר *to be clean, pure*, the S Arabian ٤٣ in Hal, 682 (Rossini, *Glossarium*, 159), and the Ras Shamra טהר

In its technical sense of "to make religiously pure", however, there can be little doubt that it, like the Eth አጥረ and ተጣረ (Noldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, 36), has been influenced by Jewish usage It will be remembered that טהר is used frequently in Leviticus

¹ In Tyrian circles as early as the third century B C Cf Harris *Glossary* 105

² As Fraenkel notes the un Arabic form طاع is itself sufficient evidence that it is a borrowed form

for ceremonial cleanness, and particularly in Ezekiel for moral cleanliness. Similar is its use in the Rabbinic writings, and in late passages Muhammad's use of the word is sometimes strikingly parallel to Rabbinic usage.

طُوًى (Tūbā)

xiii, 28

Good fortune, happiness

The favourite theory among the philologists was that it came from

طيب (Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 312), though not all of them were happy with this solution as we see from Tab on the passage, and both as Suyūṭī, *Itq*, 322, and al Jawālīqī, *Mu'arrab*, 103, quote authority for its being a foreign word.¹

It is obviously the Syr ܬܘܒܐ = μακάριος or μακαρισμός, as Fraenkel, *Vocab*, 24, saw,² which, of course, is connected with the common Semitic root טוב, which appears in Arabic as طيب³ and S. Arabian as 𐩪𐩣𐩪

طُورَ (Tūr)

ii, 60, 87, iv, 153, xix, 53, xx, 82, xxiii, 20, xxviii, 29, 46, li, 1, xcvi, 2

Mt. Sinai

Twice it is expressly coupled with سِيَاء, and except in li, 1, where it might mean *mountain* in general, it is used only in connection with the experiences of the Israelites at Sinai.⁴

It was early recognized by the philologists as a foreign word al Jawālīqī, *Mu'arrab*, 100, Ibn Qutaiba, *Adab al Kātib*, 527, as Suyūṭī, *Muzḥir*, i, 130, and Baiḍ on li, 1, give it as a Syriac word, though others,

¹ They were uncertain, however, whether to regard it as Abyssinian or Indian—*Mutaw* 39, 51.

² So Mingana, *Syriac Influence* 86. Dvorák, *Fremdw* 18.

³ Lagarde, *Übersicht* 28, 69.

⁴ See Kunstlinger, *Tur und Gabal im Kuran* in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* v (1927) pp. 58–67.

as we learn from as-Suyūṭī, *Itq*, 322, thought that it was a Nabataean word

Heb צור = πέτρα, from meaning a single rock or boulder, comes to have the sense of *cliff*, and Aram ܐܘܪܐ is a *mountain*. So in the Targums ܐܘܪܐ ܕܫܢܝ is Mt Sinai,¹ but the طور سيناء of the Qur'ān is obviously the Syr ܥܡܕ ܫܝܢܐ which occurs beside ܥܡܕ ܕܫܢܐ.²

طوفان (Tūfān)

vii, 130, xxix, 13

The Deluge

The Commentators did not know what to make of it. Tab tells us that some took it to mean *water*, others *death*, others a *torrent of rain*, others a *great storm*,³ and so on, and from Zam we learn that yet others thought it meant *smallpox*, or the *rinderpest* or a *plague of boils*.

Fraenkel, *Vocab*, 22, recognized that it was the Rabbinic טופאן which is used, e.g., by Onkelos in Gen vii, and which occurs in the Talmud in connection with Noah's story (*Sanh* 96^a). Fraenkel's theory has been generally accepted,⁴ but we find טופאניא in Mandaean meaning *deluge* in general (Noldeke, *Mand Gramm*, 22, 136, 309),⁵ and Syr ܥܡܕ ܫܝܢܐ is used of Noah's flood in Gen vi, 17, and translates κατακλυσμός in the NT, so that Mingana, *Syriac Influence*, 86, would derive the Arabic word from a Christian source.

The flood story was known before Muhammad's time, and we find the word طوفان used in connection therewith in verses of al A'shā and Umayya b Abī ṣ Salt,⁶ but it is hardly possible to decide whether it came into Arabic from a Jewish or a Christian source.

¹ Vide Onkelos on Ex xix 18

² Fraenkel *Vocab* 21 Mingana *Syriac Influence* 88 and see Horovitz *JPN* 170 *KU* 123 ff Gudi *Della Sede* 571

³ It can hardly be connected however with the Gk τυφών

⁴ Hirschfeld *Beitrage* 45 Horovitz *KU* 23 Massignon, *Lexique*, 52 Wellhausen *ZDMG* lxxvii 633

⁵ Also on the incantation bowls cf Montgomery *Aramaic Incantation Texts* Glossary p 290

⁶ Al A'shā in Geyer *Zwei Gedichte* 1 145 = *Dwan* xliii 59 Umayya xxvi 1 xxx 10 (ed Schulthess)

طِينٌ (Tīn)

III, 43, v, 110, vi, 2, vii, 11, xvii, 63, xxiii, 12, xxviii, 38, xxxii, 6, xxxvii, 11, xxxviii, 71, 77, li, 33

Clay

The Qur'ān uses it particularly for the clay out of which man was created

Jawhārī and others take it to be from طال, but this verb is clearly denominative, and Fraenkel, *Fremdw*, 8, is doubtless correct in thinking it a loan word from N Semitic

We find טינא *clay* in Jewish Aram¹ but not commonly used. The Syr ܬܝܢ was much more widely used. From some source in the Mesopotamian area the word passed into Iranian,² where we find the Phlv ideogram 𐭥𐭩𐭥 *tīna*, meaning *clay* or *mud* (PPGI, 219, Frahang, *Glossary*, p 119), and it was probably from the same source that it came as an early borrowing into Arabic, where we find it used in a general sense in the old poetry, e g *Hamāsa*, 712, l 14

عَالَمٌ ('Ālam)

Of very frequent occurrence (but only in the plu عَالَمِينَ)¹

The world, the universe

The form is not Arabic as Fraenkel, *Vocab*, 21, points out and the attempts of the Muslim authorities to prove that it is genuine Arabic are not very successful² Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 349, quotes as parallels طَاع and حَاتَم but these are borrowings from ܬܥܐ and ܚܬܡ respectively (Fraenkel, *Fremdw*, 252 and 193). Another indication that the word is foreign is the plu form عَالَمِينَ (Fraenkel, *Vocab*, 21)

It is difficult, however, to decide whether the word was borrowed from Jewish or Christian sources³ Hirschfeld, *Beitrage*, 37, pleads for

¹ Fischer *Glossar* 86 shows that this plu in the Qur'an means mankind

² In S Arabian however we have 𐩦𐩣𐩪 = *mundum* (Rossini *Glossarium* 207)

³ That it was an early borrowing is clear from the fact that 𐩦𐩣𐩪 occurs in a monotheistic S Arabian inscription published by Mordtmann and Muller in *WZKM* x 287 of p 289 therein

a Jewish[✓] origin,¹ and there is much to be said in favour of this Heb עולם means any duration of time, and in the Rabbinic writings it, like Aram עֻלְמָא, comes to mean *age* or *world*, as e g העולם הזה "this world" as contrasted with the next העולם הבא (Levy, III, 655) Grunbaum also points out, *ZDMG*, xxxix, 571, that the common Qur'ānic رب العالمين is precisely the רבון העולמים of the Jewish[✓] liturgy On the other hand, עֻלְמָא occurs in Palm and עולם in Nab inscriptions,² and the Syr ܥܠܡܐ, which Fraenkel, *Vocab*, 21, suggested as its origin, means both αἰών and κόσμος, while the expression ܥܠܡܝܢ in the Christian Palestinian dialect, is, as Schwally notes,³ a curiously close parallel in form to the Qur'ānic

للعالمين

عَمَدٌ ('*Abd*)

Of very frequent occurrence (also other forms, e g عادة, etc)

A worshipper

The root is common Semitic,[✓] cf Akk *abdu*⁴, Heb עבד, O Aram עבד, Syr ܥܒܕ, Phon עבד, Sab ܥܒܕ (and perhaps Eth 𐩇𐩣𐩆, Dillmann, *Lex*, 988)

The question of its being a loan word in Arabic depends on the more fundamental question of the meaning of the root If its primitive meaning is *to worship*, then the word retains this primitive meaning in Arabic, and all the others are derived meanings There is reason, however, to doubt whether *worship* is the primitive meaning In the O Aram עבד means *to make* or *to do*, and the same meaning is very common in Jewish Aram and Syr In Heb עֹבֵד is *to work*,⁵ and so עבד primarily means worker, as Noldeke has pointed out,⁶ and the sense of *to serve* is derived from this⁷ With עבד meaning *to*

¹ So de Sacy *JA* 1829 p 161 ff Pautz *Offenbarung* 105, n 5 and see Sacco *Credenze* 28 Ahrens *Muhammed* 41 129 Horovitz *JPN* 215

² It occurs with the meaning of *age* or *time* in the Zenjirli inscription

³ *Idioticon* 67 68 = εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας

⁴ Zimmern *Akkad Fremdw* 47

⁵ Notice particularly the Niph ܥܒܕ to be tilled used of land

⁶ *ZDMG* xl 741 He compares the Eth 𐩇𐩣𐩆 to work and 𐩇𐩣𐩆 a labourer

⁷ Gerber *Verba Denominativa* p 14

serve, we get Heb עִבְד , Aram עִבְדָּא , Syr ܥܒܕܐ , Phon عَبد , and Akk *abdu*, all meaning *slave* or *vassal*, like the Ar عَبدٌ, Sab 𐩇𐩣𐩪. From this it is a simple matter to see how with the developing cults עִבְד comes to be a *worshipper*, and עִבְדָּא to *worship*, i.e. to serve God

The inscriptions from N Arabia contain numerous examples of עִבְד joined with the name of a divinity, e.g. עִבְדִּישְׁרָא = , עד اللات = عَدْلَت , עד ماة = عَدْمَان , עד دی شری , עד المری = عَدْمَالْعَزَا , עד الله = عَدْمَالْهَ , to quote only from the Sinaitic inscriptions¹ Also in the S Arabian inscriptions we find 𐩇𐩣𐩪𐩣𐩪𐩣𐩪 'Abd 'Athtar , 𐩇𐩣𐩪𐩣𐩪𐩣𐩪 'Abd Kallal , 𐩇𐩣𐩪𐩣𐩪𐩣𐩪 'Abd Shams, etc.² It thus seems clear that the sense of *worship*, *worshipper* came to the Arabs from their neighbours in pre Islamic times,³ though it is a little doubtful whether we can be so definite as Fischer, *Glossar*, 77, in stating that it is from Jewish עִבְד

عَنْقَرِيّ (‘*Abqarī*)

lv, 76

A kind of rich carpet

It occurs only in an early Meccan Sūra in a passage describing the delights of Paradise

The exegetes were quite at a loss to explain the word Zam says that it refers to عَنْقَر , a town of the Jinn, which is the home of all wonderful things, and Tab , while telling us that عَنْقَرِيّ is the same as

¹ Cook *Glossary* 87 88 For the Safaitic see عَدْمَان etc in Littmann *Semitic Inscriptions* 1904 Ryckmans *Noms propres* 1 155 240 241 and compare the Phon examples in Harris *Glossary* 128 129

² Vide Pilster *Index of South Arabian Names* for references and Rossini *Glossarium* 201

³ It was commonly used in this sense in the old poetry see Cheikho *Nasranīya* 172 Ahrens *Christliches* 20 would derive عَادِم directly from the עִבְדָּא of Horovitz, *JPN* 213

درانی or دیباج, states that the Arabs called every wonderful thing عقری

It seems to be an Iranian[✓] word Addai Sher, 114, suggests that it is the Pers آکار, i e آب کار, meaning "something splendid", from آب splendour and کار something made That would be Phlv س āb = lustre, splendour¹ (cf Skt आभा) and وسل kār = labour affair² from Av وسل kār (cf Skt कार),³ so Phlv سوسل would mean a splendid or gorgeous piece of work It must be admitted, however, that this derivation seems very artificial

عَتِيق ('Atīq)

xxii, 30, 34

Ancient

It occurs only in a Madinan Sūra in a reference to the Ka'ba البيت

العتيق

The exegetes had some trouble with the word, though they usually try to derive it from عَتَوَ, whose meaning, as commonly used in the old poetry, is *to be free* The verb occurs in Akk *etēqu*, Heb עתק meaning *to move to advance*, but the sense of *to be old* seems purely an Aram development, and occurs only as an Aramaism in Hebrew⁴

Aram עתיק, עתיקה, Syr ܥܬܝܩܐ are quite commonly used, and עתק, in the sense of *old*, occurs in a Palm inscription of A D 193,⁵ but Vollers, *ZDMG*, xlv, 354, l, 315, claims that the root owes this meaning to the Lat *antiquus*, in which case the word probably came early into Arabic from an Aramaic source⁶

¹ *PPGI* 87 and cf Horn *Grundriss* § 3

² *West Glossary* 194 and Horn *Grundriss* § 831

³ Bartholomae *AIW* 444 ff

⁴ *BDB* 801

⁵ de Vogüé *Inscriptions* No 6 l 4 and cf Lidzbarski *Handbuch* 348, Ryckmans, *Noms propres* 1 172

⁶ It was used in the early poetry e g Al A sha (Geyer *Zwei Gedichte* 1 18) and *Mufaḍḍahyat* xxvi 34

عَدْنُ ('Adn)

ix, 73, xiii, 23, xvi, 33, xviii, 30, xix, 62, xx, 78, xxxv, 30, xxxviii, 50, xl, 8, lxi, 12, xcvi, 7

Eden

It is always found in the combination حات عدن as *Garden of Eden*, and always used eschatologically, never in the sense of the earthly home of Adam and Eve. It is not found in the earliest Sūras, and is commonest in quite late passages. Muhammad apparently learned the phrase only in its later sense of *Paradise*, and in xxvi, 85, refers to it as حة النعيم

The general theory of the Muslim savants is that it is a genuine Arabic word from عَدَنَ to *abide* or *stay in a place* (LA, xvii, 150, TA, ix, 274), and Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 328, says that عَدَنَ means استقرار. Some, however, recognized it as a loan-word, as we learn from as Suyūṭi, *Itq*, 323, though the authorities were divided as to whether it was Syriac or Greek.

Obviously حات عدن represents the Heb עֲדָן, and as עֲדָן is properly *delight, pleasure* (the Gk ηδονή),¹ the حة النعيم of xxvi, 85, is a very fair translation. The Arabic equivalent of עֲדָן, however, is عَدَنَ, with its derivatives عَدْنٌ and عَذْنَةٌ *delicacy, softness*, which clearly disposes of the theory of the Lexicographers of a derivation from عدن.

Marracci, *Refutationes*, 315, claimed that the derivation of the Arabic word was directly from the Heb עֲדָן and this has been accepted by many later writers,² though Geiger, 47, admits that it is only in the later Rabbinic writings that עֲדָן means a heavenly abode. It is possible, however, that it came from the Syr ܥܕܢ, which is used not

¹ Cf עֲדָן to be soft and the Hiph to live delicately voluptuously. Sycz *Eigen namen* 14 however wants to derive it from Babylonian ēdinu meaning field or steppe.

² De Sacy in JA 1829 vol iv pp 175 176. Pautz *Offenbarung* 215 n. Sacco *Credenze* 163.

only of the earthly Eden of Genesis but also of Paradise, and of that blessed state into which Christ brings men during their earthly sojournings¹ It was from the Syr that the Arm *ܐܪܘܒ*² was derived, but one must admit with Horovitz, *Paradies*, 7, that the Syriac word was not so commonly used as the Rabbinic עָרַב, and the probabilities are thus in favour of a Jewish derivation

عَرُوب ('Arūb)

lv1, 36

Pleasing

The word is found only in an early Meccan passage describing the delights of Paradise, where the ever virgin spouses are عَرُوبًا أَتْرَافًا, which is said to mean that they will be well pleasing to their Lords and of equal age with them

The difficulty, of course, is to derive it from the Ar root ع ر ب, which does not normally have any meaning which we can connect with عَرُوب in this sense For this reason Sprenger, *Leben*, II, 508, n, suggested that it was to be explained from Heb עֲרֵב, one of the meanings of which is *to be sweet, pleasing*, used, e g, in Ez xvi, 37, Cant II, 14, very much as in the Qur'ānic passage So in the Targums עֲרִיב means *sweet, pleasing* (Levy, *TW*, II, 240), but the word is not a common one, and it is not easy to suggest how it came to the Arabs It is commonly used in the old poetry, which would point to an early borrowing

عَزَّر ('Azzara)

v, 15, vii, 156, xlviii, 9

To help

It is used only in late passages in the technical sense of giving aid in religious matters

Obviously it is not used in the normal sense of *to correct* or *punish*,

¹ Vide Andrae *Ursprung* 151

² Hubschmann *ZDMG* xlv1 231 *Arm Gramm* I 300 In the old version of Genesis however the word used is *ܐܪܚܒ* which is obviously from the Greek Εἰδήμ

nor can it be a normal development of *عَرَّرَ* to *reprove, blame*. The Lexicons are forced to illustrate this Qur'ānic use of the word from the Hadīth whose usage is obviously dependent on the Qur'ān itself (*LA*, vi, 237)

It thus seems probable that the verb is denominative, formed from a borrowed *עזר* or *עזרה* meaning *help, succour*, which would have come to Muhammad from his contact with the Jewish communities.¹ As the Heb and Phon *עזר*, Aram *עדר*, Syr *ܕܕ* are cognate with the Ar *عَدَرَ* to *aid*, it is possible to consider *عَرَر* as a by form of *عدر*, just as *עזר* occurs, though infrequently, beside *עדר* in the Palm inscriptions,² but the fact that it is *عَرَّر* and not *عَرَز* which means *to help* is against this, and in favour of its being a denominative

عُرَيْرٌ ('*Uzair*)

ix, 30

Ezra

The reference is to the Biblical Ezra,³ and the name was recognized by the philologists as foreign al Jawalīqī, *Mu'arrab*, 105, for example, recognizes it as Hebrew.

The form of the name is difficult to explain. The Heb is *עזרא* and none of the Christian forms taken from this help us to explain

عُرَيْر. Finkel, *MW*, xvi, 306 suggests that it is a misreading for *عزير* from Ps ii, 7, but this does not seem possible. Majdī Bey in the *Bulletin de la Soc Khédiviale de Géographie*, vii^e sér, No 3 (1908), p 8, claims that it represents *Osiris*, but this is absurd. Casanova, *JA*, ccv (1924), p 360, would derive it from *עוזאל* or *עוזאל*, but all the probabilities are that it stands for *עזרא*, and the form may be due to Muhammad himself not properly grasping the name,⁴ or possibly

¹ So Horovitz *JPN* 214

² Lidzbarski *Handbuch* 338

³ Baud on the passage tells us that the Jews repudiated with some asperity the statement of the Qur'an that they called Ezra the Son of God

⁴ See also Horovitz *KU* 127 167 *JPN* 169 Kunstlinger *OLZ* xxxv (1932)

giving it deliberately the contemptuous diminutive form. A comparison with the Mandaean Elizar ¹ is too remote to be fruitful

عَفْرِيتُ (‘*Ifrīt*)

xxvii, 39

Demon

The philologists would derive it from *عمر* to rub with dust, and tell us that the word is applied to Jinn or to men as meaning one who rolls his adversary in the dust (cf *LA*, vi, 263). That the philologists had difficulty with it is evident from the number of possible forms given by Ibn Khālawayh, 109

Grimme, *ZA*, xxvi, 167, 168, suggests that the word was formed under S. Arabian influence, but there seems nothing in this, and Barth, *ZDMG*, xlviii, 17, would take it as a genuine Arabic word ². Hess, *ZS*, ii, 220, and Vollers, *ZDMG*, i, 646, however, have shown that it is

Persian, ³ derived from Phlv *āfrītan* ³ (cf Av *āfrīnāt* ⁴), which in Mod. Pers. is *آفریدن*, the participle from *آفریدن* to create, Paz *āfrīdan*, Phlv *āfrīdan* (Shikand, *Glossary*, 226),

and used like the Ar *مخلوق* for creature

عِلْيُونُ (‘*Illyūn*)

lxxxiii, 18, 19

It is supposed to be the name of a place in the upper part of the heavens (or the name of the upper part of the heavens itself), where the Register of men's good actions is preserved. Some said it was the

angel court (اسم دیوان الملائكة), *LA*, xix, 327, others that it means

the heights (Tab *in loco*), and others, arguing that *کتاب مرقوم* in

v 20 interprets ‘*Illyūn*, said it meant a book (Bagh)

¹ This Elizar appears as the chief of all priests of Lidzbarski, *Johannesbuch* 11 78 ff

² Vide also his *Nominalbildung* § 250

³ Horn *Grundriss* § 39 and cf Vollers *Lex* i 44

⁴ Reichelt *Awestisches Elementarbuch* Glossary 428

Fraenkel, *Vocab*, 23, was doubtless right in taking it to be the Heb עֲלִיָּן, which is used as an appellation of God among both Hebrews and Phœnicians,¹ and as meaning *higher* or *upper* is used of chambers of a house (Ez xli, 7, xli, 5), and in the Rabbinic writings refers to things heavenly as opposed to things earthly (Levy, *Wörterbuch*, III, 653)²

Grimme, *ZA*, xxvi, 163, wants to connect it with Eth **𐩣𐩬𐩪**, whose participle, he says, means *bunt gefärbte*, and would refer it to the spotted pages of the books There is little doubt, however, that we must regard it as a borrowing from the Jews³

عِمَاد (‘*Imād*)

xiii, 2, xxxi, 9, civ, 9 (sing عِمَدَة), lxxxix, 6

A column or pole

The word can hardly be derived from the Arabic verbal root عَمَدَ to afflict, and was apparently borrowed from the Aramaic ✓

Zimmern, *Akkad Fremdw*, 31, goes back to an Akk *imdu* meaning a support for a house or a wall, from a root *emēdu*, ‘*md*, to stand, which he would consider as having influenced the Canaanitish and Aramaean areas, whence we find Heb עֲמֹד, Phon עֲמֹד pillar, and Aram עמודא, Palm עמודא, Syr ܥܡܘܕܐ pillar If so it must also have influenced the S Arabian area, for there we find Sab 𐩣𐩬𐩪 (D H Muller, *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Abessinien*, 80)³ and Eth 𐩣𐩬𐩪, also meaning pillar

From the Aramaic, according to this theory, would have come the Ar عَمُود a pillar, and thence the denominative verb عَمَدَ to prop, from which the Qur’ānic عَاد would have been derived In this case it would have been an early borrowing

¹ Hoffmann, *Phönizische Inschriften* pp 48 50 and Philo Byblus in Eusebius *Prep Evang*, I 80 (ed Gainsford) κατὰ τοὺτους γίνεται τις ἑλίουδιν καλουμένης Ὑψιστος

² Noldeke *Neue Beiträge*, 28 and Horowitz *JPN* 215, agree that the origin was Jewish

³ Cf Rossini *Glossarium* 209 Ryckmans *Noms propres* I 166

عِمْرَانُ ('Imrān)

III, 30, 31, lxvi, 12

'Imrān, the father of Moses, Aaron, and Miriam

In these passages we have the well known confusion between Miriam the sister of Moses and Aaron, and Miriam the mother of our Lord, and in spite of the attempts at defence made by Geroch,¹ Sale,² and Weil,³ we have no need to look elsewhere than the עִמְרָן of the O T for the ultimate source of the name, though the direct borrowing would seem to have been from the Syr ܥܡܪܢ.

Sycz, *Eigennamen*, 60, would take it as a genuine Arabic name applied to عمران because the name seems to be a formation from

عمر, and used in pre Islamic times Ibn Duraid, *Ishtiqāq*, 314, tells us

of an عمران among the Qudā'a, and Ibn Qutaiba, *Ma'ārif*, 223, speaks

of an عمران بن محروم at Mecca D H Muller, *WZKM*, I, 25, says the name was known in S Arabia, and evidence for its existence in N Arabia is found in a Greek inscription from the Hauran given by Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, II, 331, which reads *Αὔθου Σαλέμου καὶ Ἐμράνου Βασσου*, as well as the Abū 'Imrān mentioned in Al A'shā⁴ Horovitz, *KU*, 128, also quotes Littmann's unpublished second volume No 270 for an occurrence of the name in the Safaite inscriptions (cf Ryckmans, *Noms propres*, I, 167)

This, however, hardly affects the Qur'ānic name, for though we may agree that there was an early Arabic name of this form, it is surely clear, as both Lidzbarski and Horovitz note, that the Qur'ānic name came to Muhammad from his Jewish or Christian sources, though in the form it takes he may have been influenced by the Arabic name (Horovitz, *JPN*, 159)

عَنْكَبُوت ('Ankabūt)

XXIX, 40

Spider

¹ *Christologie* pp 22-8 followed by Sayous, *Jésus Christ d'après Mahomet* Paris 1880 pp 35 36

² *Koran* p 46 n 3

³ *Muhammad der Prophet* 1843 p 195 n

⁴ *Duwan* (ed Geyer) xxvii, 18

The ending **وت** would suggest that it is of Aram[✓] origin (Geiger, 45), and this is confirmed by the fact that the Heb is **עֲבִישׁ**, where the Heb **שׁ** would lead us to expect a **ث** in Arabic, as e g **فرعش** and **رعوث**, **شلع** and **ثلع**, etc

The form in the Targums is **עֲבִיָּתָא** or **עֲבִיָּתָא**, as in **קִיין עֲבִיָּתָא** *spider's web*, and it was probably from some Aram form that it entered Arabic¹ The word occurs with *n* already in the N Arabian inscriptions (Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission*, 25)²

عيد ('*Id*)

v, 114

A festival

This sole occurrence is in the latest Madīnan Sūra in connection with Muhammad's curious confusion on the Lord's supper

The Lexicons try to derive it from **عاد**, though as we see from the discussion of al Azharī in *LA*, iv, 314, they were somewhat in difficulties over it Fraenkel, *Fremdw*, 276, pointed out that it has no derivation in Arabic, and it was doubtless borrowed from the Syr **ܥܝܕܐ**,³ though the root is common Semitic, and the Targumic **עִידָא** is not impossible as the source It would have been an early borrowing, for already in the Minaean inscriptions **𐩦𐩣𐩪** means *festum instituit* (Rossini, *Glossarium*, 205)

عيسى ('*Isā*)

ii, 81, 130, 254, iii, 40-8, 52, 78, iv, 156-169, v, 50, 82, 109-116, vi, 85, xix, 35, xxxiii, 7, xlii, 11, xliii, 63, lvii, 27, lxi, 6, 14
Jesus

The majority of these passages are late The name is generally

¹ Vide BDB 747

² Vide Hess *Die Entzifferung der thamudischen Inschriften* No 153

³ Cf Cheikho *Nasranya* 173 Fischer *Glossar* 90

عيسى ن مريم, and is frequently accompanied by characteristic N T titles, e g روح الله, كلمة الله, المسيح

Many Muslim authorities take the word as Arabic and derive it from عيس to be a dingy white, whence عيسٌ a reddish whiteness (Lane, sub voc), or from عيسٌ meaning a stallion's urine, so Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 359 (cf *LA*, viii, 31) Zam on iii, 40, however, dismisses these suggestions with some scorn,¹ and there were many who recognized it as a foreign word² al Jawālīqī, *Mu'arrab*, 105, al Khafājī, 134, give it as such, and in *LA*, viii 30 ff, we read that Sībawaih, Ibn Sīda, Jawharī, and az Zajjāj classed it as معرب Jawharī, *Siḥāh*, sub voc, gives it as Syriac, but Baid on ii, 81, says it is Hebrew

The name is still a puzzle to scholarship Some have suggested that it is really Esau עשׂו, and was learned by Muhammad from Jews who called Jesus so out of hatred³ There is no evidence, however, that Jews ever referred to Jesus by this name Others take it as a rhyming

formation to correspond with يحيى and موسى, on the analogy of Hārūn and Qarūn, Harūt and Marūt, Yājūj and Majūj, etc There may be some truth in this⁴ Derenbourg, *REJ*, xviii, 128, after pointing out how the Tetragrammaton יהוה in Gk became Ιησοῦς, suggests that perhaps יסוע “lu a la maniere occidentale” has produced

عيسى, but this is hardly likely

Fraenkel, *WZKM*, iv, 334, 335, suggests that the name عيسى may have been so formed from عيسى by Christians in Arabia before

¹ Baid follows Zam in this Zwemer *Moslem Christ* 34 has quite misunderstood Baid on this point Baid does not argue for a derivation from أعس but definitely repudiates it al Ukbarī *Imla* i 164 says clearly لا يعرف له اسمعاق

² See the discussion in Abu Hayyan *Bahr* i 297

³ This was suggested by Roediger (Fraenkel *WZKM* iv 334 n) and by Landauer (Noldeke *ZDMG* xli 720 n), and is set forth again by Pautz *Offenbarung* 191 The case against it is elaborated by Derenbourg *REJ* xviii 127 and Rudolph *Abhangigkeit* 66

⁴ This theory was elaborated by Lowenthal in 1861 cf *MW* i 267-282 and Ahrens *Christliches* 25

Muhammad It is not unusual to find Arabic using an initial ʾ in words borrowed from Aram,¹ and the dropping of final ʾ is evidenced by the form *Yisho* of the Manichaean "kopturkish" fragments² from Turfan,³ and the late Jewish שׁו" for שׁו" (Levy, *Worterbuch*, II, 272) The form *ʿĪsa*, however, does not occur earlier than the

Qur'ān,⁴ whereas يسوع appears to have been used in personal names at an early period, cf *Aghānī*, xx, 128

Till further information comes to hand we shall have to content ourselves with regarding it as some form of "konsonanten permutation"⁵ due, maybe, to Muhammad himself, and perhaps influenced, as Horovitz, *KU*, 128, suggests, by Nestorian pronunciation

فَاحِرٌ (*Fāḥir*)

lxxi, 28, plu فَحْرَةٌ, lxxx, 42, and فَحَار, xxxviii, 27, lxxxii, 14, lxxxiii, 7

Wicked

With this must be taken the verb فَحَرَ to act wickedly, lxxv, 5, and فُحُور wickedness, xci, 8

This set of words, as Ahrens, *Christliches*, 31, notes, has nothing to do with the root فَحَرَ to break forth or its derivatives Rather we have here a development from a word borrowed from the Syr[✓] which literally means a *body* or *corpse*, but from which were formed the technical words of Christian theology, ܦܚܪܐ *corporalis*, and ܦܚܪܐܬܐ *corporalitas*, referring to the sinful body, the *flesh* that wars against the spirit Thus in 2 Pet 1, 13, ܦܚܪܐ ܕܚܝܐ = εν τούτῳ τῷ σκηνώματι, and in 1 Cor iii, 3, ܦܚܪܐ = σωματικός, and in

¹ Examples in Vollers *ZDMG* xlv 352

² So sometimes in the Iranian and Soghdian Manichaean fragments, see Henning *Manichaica* II, 70 and *Manichaisches Berichtbuch* 142

³ Le Coq in *SBAW* Berlin, 1909 p 1053 cf also the Arm ܦܚܪܐ

⁴ But note the monastery in S Syria mentioned by Mingana *Syriac Influence* 84 which as early as A D 571 seems to have borne the name *Isaniya*

⁵ Bittner *WZKM* xv 395

this technical sense it may very well have been in use among the Christian Arabs long before the time of Islam

فَاطِرٌ (Fātir)

vi, 14, xii, 102, xiv, 11, xxxv, 1, xxxix, 47, xlii, 9

Creator

It occurs only in the stereotyped phrase فاطر السموات والارض

The root فَطَرَ is to cleave or split, and from this we have several forms in the Qur'ān, viz فُطُور a fissure, تَفَطَّرَ to be rent asunder, etc

On the other hand, فَطَرَ to create (cf وَطَرَةٌ, xxx, 29), is a denominative from فاطر

The primary sense is common Semitic, cf Akk *patāru*, to cleave, Heb פטר, Phon פטר to remove, Syr ܦܬܪ to release, etc The meaning of to create, however, is peculiar to Ethiopic, and as Noldeke, *Neue*

Beitrage, 49, shows, the Ar فاطر is derived from ፈጣሪ though Arabicized in its form ¹

فَتْحٌ (Fath)

xxvi, 118, xxxii, 28

Judgment, decision

The verb فَتَحَ to open, with its derivatives, is commonly used and is genuine Arabic, but in these two passages ² where it has a peculiar technical meaning, Muhammad seems to be using, as Horovitz, *AU*, 18, n, noted, an Eth word ፍትሕ, which had become specialized in this sense and is used almost exclusively of legal affairs, e g ፈትሕ to give judgment, ተፈትሕ *rudicari*, ተፈትሕ *litigare*, ፍትሕት *rudicium*,

¹ That the early authorities felt that the word was foreign is clear from the tradition about Ibn Abbas in *LA* vi 362 already referred to in our Introduction p 7

² Horovitz would add cx 1 اِذَا حَاضَرَ اللّٰهَ وَالْمَح but as this apparently refers to the conquest of Mecca (Noldeke Schwally 1 219) it would seem to mean victory rather than judgment in the technical legal sense of the other passages

and 𐤀𐤕𐤁 which is both *udicium* and *sententia iudicis*. This sense had already become domiciled in S Arabia as we see from the use of 𐩣𐩣𐩪 in the inscriptions (Rossini, *Glossarium*, 221)

فَخَّارٌ (*Fakhkhār*)

lv, 13

Potter's clay

The passage refers to the creation of man, and that it means *earthenware* is the general consensus of the authorities (cf as Siyistānī, 245, Raghib, *Mufradāt*, 380)

It is obvious that it cannot be derived from the verbal root 𐤀𐤕𐤁¹ and Fraenkel, *Vocab*, 22, compared it with 𐤀𐤕𐤁 an earthenware pot, which occurs as a loan word in the Jewish פַּחְרָא². The Syr 𐤀𐤕𐤁³ is a word in fairly common use and translates *κεραμεύς* (cf 𐤀𐤕𐤁 𐤀𐤕𐤁 = *γῆ κεραμική*), and there can be little doubt that it is the origin of the Arabic word,⁴ though Horovitz, *JPN*, 216, withholds judgment as to whether it is of Jewish or Christian origin

فُرَاتٌ (*Furāt*)

xxv, 55, xxxv, 13, lxxvii, 27

Sweet river water

The passages are all Meccan and refer to the sweet river water as opposed to the salt water of the sea, and in the two latter passages the reference is apparently to some cosmological myth

In any case the word فُرَاتٌ is derived from the river Euphrates (Horovitz, *KU*, 130), which from the Sumerian *Pura nun*, "great water," appears in Akk as *Purattu*, or *Purāt*,⁵ and in O Pers as *Ufrātu*,⁶

¹ Noldeke *Mand Gramm* 120 n 2

² Fraenkel *Fremdw* 70 but cf פַּחְרָא in Dan ii 41

³ This itself may be of Akk origin see Zimmern *Akkad Fremdw* 26

⁴ Noldeke *Neue Beiträge* 45, n 2, Vollers *ZDMG* li 324 Fraenkel *Fremdw* 257

⁵ Delitzsch, *Paradies* 169 ff

⁶ Spiegel *Die altpersischen Keilinschriften* p 211 and cf Meillet *Grammaire du vieux Perse*, p 164

whence the Gk *Ἐυφράτης* From the Akk *come* the Heb פרת and Syr ܦܪܬ, whence in all probability the Ar فُرَات, if indeed this was not an early borrowing from Mesopotamia ✓

فِرْدَوْس (Firdaws)

xviii, 107, xxiii, 11

Paradise

The authorities are agreed that it means a garden—ستان (Jawharī, *Siḥāh*, i, 467, *LA*, viii, 43), but they differed considerably as to what sort of a garden it means¹ There are also divers opinions as to its precise location and significance as referring to the celestial Paradise

It was early recognized as foreign (Siddiqī, *Studien*, 13, and note Fraenkel's remark, *Fremdw*, 149), though some claimed that it was genuine Arabic derived from فِرْدَسَة meaning *width* or *amplitude*²

Some said it was Nabataean,³ where the reference is possibly to the פרת of late Jewish legend 'Ikrima held that it was Ethiopic,⁴ and many said it was Syriac,⁵ but the favourite theory among the philologers was that it was of Greek origin as Suyūṭī, *Itq*, 323, *Muzḥir*, i, 130, 134, gives this as the prevalent theory, it is given by al Jawālīqī, 110, ath Tha'alibī, *Fīqh*, 318, and al Khafajī, 148, and we learn from the Lexicons (cf *LA*, viii, 44) that it was supported by such authorities as az Zajjaj, Mujāhid, Ibn Sida, and al Kalbī

Obviously فردوس represents the Gk παράδεισος, and on the ground of the plu فراديس G Hoffmann⁶ would derive it directly from the Greek ✓ It seems, however, merely a coincidence that this

¹ Lane *Lex* 2365 and Tab on xviii 107

² Vide Qamus sub voc *LA* viii 44 *TA* iv 205 This was the theory of al Farra and it was supposed to be supported by the fact that it occurs as a name for Damascus The verse of Jarir quoted in Bekrī *Mu jam* p 368 is post Islamic however and doubtless influenced by the Qur'an

³ as Suddī in al Jawālīqī *Mu arrab* 110

⁴ Bagh on xviii 107

⁵ Qamūs sub voc *TA* iv 105 and al Jawālīqī

⁶ *ZDMG* xxxii 761 n Lagarde *GA* 76 and 210 Pautz *Offenbarung* 215 n but see A Muller in Bezzenberger's *Beiträge* 280 n

plu form (which is not uncommon in borrowed words, e g صادق , تلاميذ , حاریر , etc), is so close in sound to the Greek word, and it is unlikely that it came directly into Arabic from Greek

The original word is Iranian, the Av **𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀** *parindaēza*, which in the plu means a "circular enclosure" ¹ Xenophon introduced the word into Greek, and uses it of the parks and gardens of the Persian Kings, ² e g *Anab.* i, ii, 7, etc After this date it is used fairly frequently, and in the LXX is sometimes used to translate **גן** or **עֵדֶן** But it was also borrowed into other languages ³ In late Akk we find *pardisu*, ⁴ and in Heb **פֶּרֶדֶס** a *park* or *garden*, also in Aram the **ܦܪܕܝܣܐ** of the Targyms, and Syr **ܦܪܕܝܣܐ** commonly mean *garden* and are of Iranian origin, ⁵ like the Arm **պարտիզ** ⁶

Tisdall, *Sources*, 126, thought that **فردوس** was borrowed from late Heb, but in the sense of *Paradise* it is very rarely used in Heb ⁷ Its origin is almost certainly Christian, and probably Syriac, for **ܦܪܕܝܣܐ** was very commonly used for the abode of the Blessed, and could easily have been learned by the Arabs from the Aram speaking Christians of Mesopotamia or N Arabia ⁸ Vollers, *ZDMG*, i, 646, suggests that possibly the plu form **فراڤيس** was the form that was borrowed, and **فردوس** later formed from this

It was a pre-Islamic borrowing, and possibly occurs in the Thamudic inscriptions ⁹

¹ Bartholomae *AIW* 865 Haug *Parsis* 5 It survives in Mod Pers **باغ** *garden* (Horn *Grundriss* § 279) and Kurdish **بەر** *garden* (cf Justi *Die kurd Spiranten* 29)

² This makes it the more strange that Liddell and Scott should have considered the word Semitic

³ Telegdi in *JA* ccxxvi (1935) p 250

⁴ *ZA* vi 290 On the suggested Semitic origin of the Avestic word see Delitzsch *Paradies* 95 96 and Nöldeke thereon in *ZDMG* xxxvi 182

⁵ The Syr **ܦܪܕܝܣܐ** besides Arm **պարտիզ** and Pers **باغ** for *gardener* is conclusive evidence of the Iranian origin **بان** being the Phlv **𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀** *pānak* a *protector* or *keeper* (Horn *Grundriss* § 176 Nyberg *Glossar* 169)

⁶ Hubschmann *Arm Gramm* i 229 Lagarde *Armenische Studien* § 1878

⁷ As Horovitz *Paradies* 7 notes Cf also Schaeder in *Der Islam* xiii 326

⁸ Horovitz *Paradies* 7 Grunbaum *ZDMG* xxxix 581 Geiger 48 Fraenkel *Vocab* 25 Sacco *Credenze* 163 n

⁹ **פֶּרֶדֶס** cf Littmann *Entzifferung* 43

فِرْعَوْن (Fīr'aun)

Occurs some seventy four times, e g 11, 46

Pharaoh

The Commentators tell us that Fīr'aun was the title of the kings of the Amalekites,¹ just as Chosroes and Cæsar were titles of the kings of Persia and Roum (Tab and Baiḍ on 11, 46) It was thus recognized as a foreign word taken over into Arabic (Sībawaih in Siddīqī, *Studien*, 20, and al Jawālīqī, *Mu'arrab*, 112)

Hirschfeld, *New Researches*, 13, thinks that it came to Arabic from Hebrew, the form being due to a misreading of פֶּרַעַה as פֶּרַעֹן, but there is no need to descend to such subtleties when

we note that the Christian forms give us the final ن In Gk it is Φαραὼν, in Syr ܦܪܥܝܐ, and in Eth ፈርዖን The probabilities are that it was borrowed from Syriac (Mingana, *Syriac Influence*, 81, Sprenger, *Leben*, 1, 66, Horovitz, *JPN*, 169)

There does not seem to be any well authenticated example of the word in pre Islamic times, for the oft quoted examples from Zuhair and Umayya are spurious² Sprenger has noticed the curious fact that the name does not occur in the Sūra of Joseph where we should naturally expect it, which may indicate that the name was not known to Muhammad at the time that story was composed, or may be was not used in the sources from which he got the material for the story

فُرْقَان (Furqān)

11, 50, 181, 111, 2, viii, 29, 42, 21, 49, 25, 1

Discrimination

In all the passages save viii, 42, it is used as though it means some sort of a Scripture sent from God Thus "we gave to Moses and Aaron the Furqān and an illumination" (21, 49), and "We gave to Moses the Book and the Furqān" (11, 50), where it would seem to

¹ As Noldeke showed in his essay *Über die Amalekiter* Göttingen 1864 this name is used by Arabic writers in a very loose way to cover all sorts of peoples of the Near East of whose racial affinities they had no exact knowledge The term is used indifferently for Philistines Canaanites and Egyptians and Bagh in his note on 11 46 tells us that Pharaoh was the ruler of the Amalekite Copts¹

² Horovitz *KU* 130 however would defend the genuineness of one passage in Umayya

be the equivalent of Taurah In iii, 2, it is associated with the Taurah and the Injil, and xxv, 1, and ii, 181, make it practically the equivalent of the Qur'ān, while in viii, 29, we read, "if ye believe God, he will grant you a Furqān and forgive your evil deeds" In viii, 42, however, where the reference is to the Battle of Badr, "the day of the Furqān, the day when the two hosts met," the meaning seems something quite different

The form of the word would suggest that it was genuine Arabic, a form **فُراق** from **فَرَقَ**, and thus it is taken by the Muslim authorities Tab on ii, 50, says that Scripture is called Furqān because God **فَرَقَ بَيْنَ الْحَقِّ وَالْبَاطِلِ**, and as referring to Badr it means the day when God discriminated (**فَرَقَ**) between the good party and the evil (Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 385) In this latter case it is tempting to think of Jewish influence, for in the account of Saul's victory over the Ammonites in 1 Sam xi, 13, where the Heb text reads **הַיּוֹם עָשָׂה יְהוָה יְהוּדָה תְּשׁוּעָה בִּישְׂרָאֵל**, in the Targum it reads **יּוֹם פּוֹרְקָנָא בִּישְׂרָאֵל**, where **יּוֹם פּוֹרְקָנָא** is exactly **يَوْمَ الْمَرْقَانِ**¹

The philologists, however, are not unanimous as to its meaning Some took it to mean **بَصَر**, Baiḍ on xxi, 49, tells us that some said it meant **فَلَقَ الْحَرِّ**, and Zam on viii, 29, collects a number of other meanings This uncertainty and confusion is difficult to explain if we are dealing with a genuine Arabic word, and is sufficient of itself to suggest that it is a borrowed term²

Arguing from the fact that in the majority of cases it is connected with Scriptures, Hirschfeld, *New Researches*, 68, would derive it from **פְּרָקִים**, one of the technical terms for the divisions of the

¹ Lidzbarski *ZS* i 92 notes an even closer verbal correspondence with Is xlix 8 where for **וַיִּבְרָא יְהוָה יְהוּדָה תְּשׁוּעָה עֲזָרָתוֹ** the Pesh has **סִבְחָתָא דְּיִשְׂרָאֵל**

² This is strengthened by the fact that there are apparently no examples of its use earlier than the Qur'an Fleischer *Kleinere Schriften* ii 125 ff who opposed the theory that it is a foreign word is compelled to admit that it was probably a coining of Muhammad himself See Ahrens *Christliches* 31 32

text of the Hebrew Scriptures¹ This, however, is rather difficult, and Margolouth, *Mohammed*, 145 (but see *ERE*, ix, 481, x, 538), while inclining to the explanation from פְּרָקִים, refers it, not to the sections of the Pentateuch, but to a book of Sayings of the Jewish Fathers, which Muhammad heard of from the Jews, and which he may have thought of as similar to the Taurah and the Injil This theory is more probable than that of Hirschfeld, and has in its favour the fact that resemblances have been noted between phrases and ideas in the Qur'ān and the well known פְּרָקֵי אֲבוֹת² It also, however, has its difficulties, and in any case does not explain the use of the word in viii, 42

Linguistically there is a closer equivalence in the Aram פִּרְקָן, פִּירְקָן *deliverance* or *redemption*, and Geiger, 56 ff,³ suggested this as the source of the Arabic word He would see the primary meaning in viii, 29—"He will grant you *redemption* and forgive your evil deeds' where the Targumic פִּירְקָנָא would fit exactly (cf Ps iii, 9, etc) Nowhere, however, is פִּירְפָּנָא used of revela-

tion, and Geiger is forced to explain فِرْقَان in the other passages, by assuming that Muhammad looked upon revelation as a means of deliverance from error

Geiger's explanation has commended itself to many scholars,⁴ but Fraenkel, *Vocab*, 23, in mentioning Geiger's theory, suggested the possibility of a derivation from Syr פִּרְסִינָא, a suggestion which has been very fruitfully explored by later scholars⁵ Not only is פִּרְסִינָא the common word for *salvation* in the Peshitta and the ecclesiastical writers (*Psm*, 3295), but it is the normal form in the Christian Palestinian dialect, and has passed into the religious vocabulary of Eth as ቀርቶ (Noldeke Schwally, i, 34) and Armenian as փրկութիւն⁶ It is of much wider use than the Rabbinic

¹ So Grimme *Mohammed* ii 73 thinks it means sections of a heavenly book and compares the Rabbinic פִּרְקָא פִּרְקֵי but see Rudolph *Abhangigkeit* 39

² Rudolph *Abhangigkeit* 11 Hirschfeld *Beitrage* 58

³ So Torrey *Foundation* 48

⁴ Ullmann *Der koran* (Bielefeld 1872) p 5 von Kremer *Ideen* 225 Sprenger *Leben* ii 337 ff Pautz *Offenbarung* 81

⁵ Schwally *ZDMG* lii 135 Kneschke *Erlosungslehre des Koran* (Berlin 1910), p 11 ff See also Wellhausen *ZDMG* lxxvii 633 Massignon *Lexique* 52 Mingana *Syriac Influence* 85

⁶ Merx *Chrestomathia Targumica* 264 Hubschmann *ZDMG* xlv 267 *Arm Gramm* i 318

פֶּרְקָנָא, but as little does it refer to revelation, so even if we agree that the borrowing was from Syr we still have the problem of the double, perhaps triple, meaning of the word in the Qur'ān

Sprengrer thought we might explain this by assuming the influence of the Ar root **ف ر ق** on the borrowed word¹ Schwally, however, has suggested that this is not necessary, as the word might well have had this double sense before Muhammad's time, under the influence of Christian or Jewish Messianic thought,² and Lidzbarski, *ZS*, 1, 91, points out that in Gnostic circles 'Erlosung und Heil besonders durch Offenbarung vermittelt werden'³ There is the difficulty, however, that there seems to be no evidence of the use of the word in Arabic earlier than the Qur'an, and Bell, *Origin*, 118 ff, rightly insists that we must associate the use of the word for revelation with Muhammad himself He links up the use of the word in the Qur'an with the story of Moses, and thinks that as in the story of Moses the deliverance was associated with the giving of the Law, so Muhammad conceived of his Furqan as associated with the revelation of the Qur'an Wensinck, *EI*, 11, 120, would also attribute the use of the word in the sense of revelation to Muhammad himself, but he thinks we have two distinct words used in the Qur'an, one the Syr **ܦܪܩܢܐ** meaning *salvation* or *deliverance*, and the other a genuine Arabic word meaning *distinction*, which Muhammad used for *revelation* as that which makes a distinction between the true and the false⁴ Finally, Horovitz, *KU*, 77 would make a sort of combination of all these theories, taking the word as of Syriac origin, but influenced by the root **ف ر ق** and also by the Heb **פֶּרְקָנָא** (cf also *JPN*, 216-18)

In any case it seems clear that **ف ر قَان** is a word that Muhammad himself borrowed to use as a technical term, and to whose meaning

¹ *Leben* 11 339 Wenn Mohammed Forkan auch aus dem Aramaischen entnommen hat so schwebte ihm doch die arabische Etymologie vor See also Pudolph *Abhängigkeit* 39 Bell *Origin* 118 Noldeke *Sketches* 38

² Noldeke Schwally 1 34 in erster Linie und am wahrscheinlichsten unter Christen in zweiter Linie in messianisch gerichteten jüdischen Kreisen

³ He refers for examples to Liechtenhan's *Die Offenbarung im Gnosticismus* p 123 ff but as Rudolph *Abhängigkeit* 92 points out this idea is not confined to Gnostic circles

⁴ Wensinck seems to have been unduly influenced by the theories of the native Commentators

he gave his own interpretation. The source of the borrowing was doubtless the vocabulary of the Aramaic speaking Christians, whether or not the word was also influenced by Judaism.

فَلَقَ (*Falaq*)

vi, 95, 96, xxvi, 63, cxiii, 1

To split or cleave

Three forms occur in the Qur'an (i) **فَالَى**, *he who causes to break forth*, vi, 95, 96, (ii) **إِنْفَلَقَ** *to be split open*, xxvi, 63, (iii) **فَلَقَ** the dawn, cxiii, 1

Zimmern, *Akkad Fremdw*, 12, notes that the Arabic verb is denominative, and would derive it from an Aramaic source. The Akk *palāqu*, *to slay or kill*, is a denominative from *pīlaqu*, a *hatchet* which itself may be derived from the Sumerian *balag*. From this Akk *pīlaqu* were derived on the one hand the Syr **ܦܠܩܐ** and Mand **פילקא**, both meaning *hatchet*, and on the other hand the Skt **परशु** *hatchet*¹, Gk **πέλεκυς**, *axe*²

Syr **ܦܠܩܐ** is used to translate the Heb **כַּשִׁיל** in Ps lxxiv, 6, and would probably have been the origin of the form that was first borrowed and from which all the others have been developed.³

فُلْكَ (*Fulk*)

Occurs some twenty three times, cf vii, 62

Ship

It is used of shipping in general (xxx, 45, xlv, 11), of Noah's Ark (vii, 62, x, 74), and of the ship from which Jonah was cast (xxxvii, 140)

The root **فَلَك** means *to have rounded breasts* (Lane, *Lex*, 2443),

¹ For **परशु** see Delitzsch *Prolegomena* 147 and Ipsen in *Indog Forschungen* xli 177 (Alt Sumerisch akkadische Lehnwörter im Indogermanischen)

² For **πέλεκυς** see *ZDMG* ix 874 Kretschmer *Einleitung* 105 ff Levy *Fremd wörter* 178

³ In S Arabian however we find **𐩣𐩬𐩪** (Rossini *Glossarium* 218) though this may have come from the Aramaic

and from the same primitive Semitic root we get Akk *pīlaku*, Heb פִּלָּךְ, Ar فَلَكَ, all meaning the whirl of a spindle, and by another line of derivation Ar وَلَكٌ, Eth ሊሐ for the celestial hemisphere. So the philologists as a rule endeavour to derive وَلَكٌ from this root, imagining it is so named from its rounded shape ¹

The philologists, however, were somewhat troubled by the fact that it could be masc, fem, and plu, without change of form (*LA*, xi, 367), and there can be little doubt that the word is a borrowing. Vollers, *ZDMG*, i, 620, li, 300, claims that it is the Gk *εφόλκιον* which usually means a small boat towed after a ship,² but from the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, § 16,³ we gather that as used around the Red Sea it must have meant a vessel of considerable size. The borrowing was probably direct from the Greek,⁴ though there is a possibility that it came through an Aram⁵ medium ⁴

فِيل (Fīl)

cv, 1

Elephant

The only occurrence of the word is in an early Sūra mentioning the Abyssinian campaign under Abraha against Mecca. Abraha's army was known as جيش الفيل, because for the first time in Arab experience, African elephants had been used in an attack. Muhammad was doubtless using a well known term when he referred to Abraha's army as أصحاب الفيل.

The word seems to be of Iranian origin ⁵ In Phlv we find 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥, 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥,

¹ Raghib *Mufradat* 393 however reverses this position and thinks the celestial sphere was called ملك because it was like a boat

Vide Athenaeus 208 F

In C Müller *Geographi Graeci Minores* i, 271

Fraenkel *Fremdw* 212 Halévy *ZA* ii 401 denies the derivation from *εφόλκιον* claiming that in that case the Arabic word would have been فلي

Hommel *Saugethiere* 24

PPGI 187 West *Glossary* 112 *Shikand*, Glossary 264 Nyberg *Glossar* 186, whence in Mod Pers it is فل

Paz *pīl*, representing an old Iranian form which was borrowed on the one hand into Skt *पील*¹ and Arm *փիլ*² and on the other into Akk *pīru*, *pīlu*³, Aram *פִּילָא*, Syr *פִּיל*

Some of the philologers endeavoured to find an Arabic derivation for the word,⁴ but it is fairly clear that it was a borrowing either directly from Middle Persian, or through the Aram (Horovitz, *KU*, 98) It occurs in the old poetry and therefore must have been an early borrowing

Rossini, *JA*, xi^c ser, vol xviii 31, after pointing out the difficulty of believing that elephants could have made the journey between Yemen and Mecca, thinks that oral tradition among the Arabs confused the expedition of Abraha with an earlier one under the chieftain Afilas whose name *AΦIΛAC* occurs on coins of the end of the third century A D as an Ethiopian conqueror of S Arabia On this theory *الميل* in the Qur ān would be a corrupted representation of *أفيل*

قَارُونَ (*Qārūn*)

xxviii, 76, 79, xxix, 38, xl, 25

Korah

As Geiger, 155, has shown, the Qur'ānic account of Korah is based on the Rabbinic legends, and we might assume that the word is derived from the Heb *קָרַח* The dropping of the final guttural, however, makes this a little difficult The final guttural, as a matter of fact, is missing in the Gk *Kopé* and Eth *ቀሪ*, but neither of these help us with the Arabic form Hirschfeld, *New Researches*, 13 n, made the

suggestion that *قَارُونَ* is due to a misreading of *קָרַח* as *קָרוֹן*, a mistake which is very possible in Hebrew script It is fairly certain, however, that Muhammad's information came from oral sources, and it is difficult to believe that anyone sufficiently acquainted with Heb or Aram to be able to read him the story would have made such

¹ Vox apud Indos barbara—Vullers *Lex* i 402 as against Hommel 324 ff and see Monier Williams *Sanskrit Dictionary*, p 630

² Hubschmann *Arm Gramm* i 255

³ Vullers *ZDMG* i 652 Zimmern *Akkad Fremdw* 50 thinks the Aram and Heb forms were derived from the Akkad

⁴ e g Sibawaih in *Sihah* sub voc

a blunder There is a Mandaean form כרן¹ (Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, Göttingen, 1925, p 157), but there can be no certainty that this is connected with قارون, and if it is it was probably influenced by the Qur'ānic form Thus it seems best to look on it as a rhyming formation to parallel هاورن (Sycz, *Eugennamen*, 43, Horovitz, *KU*, 131, *JPN*, 163), though whether from the Heb קרח or from a Christian form without the guttural, it is impossible to say²

قُدُس (Qudus)

11, 81, 254, v, 109, xvi, 104

Purity, sanctity

We also find القدوس an epithet for God, lx, 23, lxii, 1, قدس to bless, sanctify, 11, 28, مُقَدَّس and مُقَدَّسَة holy, sacred, v, 24, xx, 12, lxxix, 16

The root is common Semitic and would seem to have meant primitively to withdraw, separate,³ and some of the philologers would derive the meaning of the Qur'anic words from this sense (cf Baid on 11, 28) It has long been recognized, however, that as a technical religious term, this sense is a N Semitic development and occurs only as a borrowed sense of the root in S Semitic⁴ Thus Eth ቀደስ in the sense of holy (i.e. ቀደስ) is a borrowing from Aram, as Noldeke, *Neue Beiräge*, 35, shows, and there can be little doubt that Fraenkel, *Vocab*, 20, *Fremdw*, 57, is correct in tracing the Arabic word to a similar source Hirschfeld, *Beiräge*, 39 ff, thinks the Arabic use developed under Jewish influence, but the Qur'anic use is more satisfactorily explained from Christian Aram,⁵ particularly the

روح القدس from ܪܫܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ, while the form قُدُوس may have come from the Eth ቀደስ (Horovitz, *JPN*, 218)⁶

¹ Brandt *Mandaische Schriften* 149 suggested the equivalence with قارون

² The foreign origin of the word was recognized by some of the Muslim authorities cf Sibawaih in Siddiqi 20

³ Baudissin *Studien* 11 19 ff and Robertson Smith *Religion of the Semites* 150

⁴ Which is fatal to Grimme's theory of S Arab origin, *ZA* xxvi 166

⁵ Fraenkel *Vocab* 24 Pautz *Offenbarung* 36 Mingana *Syriac Influence* 85 86

⁶ The קדש = the Holy One of the incantation texts however should be noted Cf Montgomery *Aramaic Incantation Texts* Glossary p 300

قُرْآن (Qur ān)

Occurs some seventy times, e g ii, 181 , v, 101 , vi, 19

A reading from Scripture

The root **קרא** in the sense of *proclaim, call, recite*, does not occur in Akkadian nor in S Semitic as represented by the S Arabian and Ethiopic, which leads one to suspect that **قَرَأَ** is a borrowing from the Canaanite Aramaic area ¹ The root is found in Heb and Phon but it is most widely used in the Aram dialects, being found both in the O Aram and the Egyptian Aram , and in the Nab and Palmyr inscriptions, as well as in Jewish Aram and Syriac

The verb **قَرَأَ** is used fairly often in the Qur'ān, and with four exceptions, always in reference to Muhammad's own revelation Of these exceptions in two cases (x, 94 , xvii, 95), it is used of other Scriptures, and in two cases (xvii, 73 , lxi, 19), of the Books of Fate men will have given them on the Day of Judgment Thus it is clear that the word is used technically in connection with Heavenly Books ² The sense of **قَرَأَ** also is *recite* or *proclaim*, that of *read* only came later ³

The usual theory is that **قُرْآن** is a verbal noun from this **قَرَأَ** It is not found earlier than the Qur'ān, so the earlier group of Western scholars was inclined to think that Muhammad himself formed the word from the borrowed root ⁴ There is some difficulty about this, however In the first place the form is curious, and some of the early philologists, such as Qatāda and Abū 'Ubaida derived it from **قَرَرَ** *to bring together*, basing their argument on lxxv, 17 ⁵ Others, as Suyūṭi tells us, were unsatisfied with both these derivations, and said it had no root, being a special name for the Arab's Holy Book, like Taurah

¹ Noldeke Schwally 1 33 Wellhausen ZDMG lxxvii, 634 Fischer Glossar 104 b

² Noldeke Schwally 1 82 Vielmehr wird **قَرَأَ** im Qorane uberall vom mur melnden oder leiernden Hersagen heiliger Texte gebraucht

³ Vide Hurgronje RHR xxx 62 155 Dyroff in MVAG xxvii 178 ff Noldeke Schwally 1 81 and Pedersen Der Islam v 113

⁴ Von Kremer Ideen 224 225

⁵ Jawharī sub voc as Suyūṭi Itq 118 119

for the Jews or Injl for the Christians ¹ It thus looks as though the word is not native, but an importation into the language

Marracci, 53, looked for a Jewish origin, suggesting that it was formed under the influence of the Heb **מקרא** in its late sense of *reading*, as in Neh viii, 8, and frequently in the Rabbinic writings Geiger, 59, supports this view, and Noldeke in 1860, though inclining to the view that it was a formation from **قرأ**, yet thought that it was influenced by the use of **מקרא** ² The tendency of more recent scholarship, however, has been to derive it from the Syr **ܡܪܩܐ** which means "the Reading" in the special sense of Scripture lesson In Syriac writings it is used in the titles for the Church lessons, and the Lectionary itself is called **ܕܠܟܢ ܡܪܩܐ** This is precisely the sense we need to illustrate the Qur'ānic usage of the word for portions of Scripture, so there can be little doubt that the word came to Muhammad from Christian sources ³

قُرْبَان (*Qurbān*)

iii, 179, v, 30 ⁴

A sacrifice, or gift offered to God

Both passages have reference to O T events, the former to the contest between Eljah and the priests of Baal, and the latter to the offerings of Cain and Abel Both passages are Madinan

The Muslim authorities take the word as genuine Arabic, a form

فعلان from **قرب** to *draw near* (Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 408) Undoubtedly it is derived from a root **קרב** to *draw near, approach*, but in the sense of *oblation* it is an Aramaic development, and borrowed thence into the other languages In O Aram we find **קרבן** in this sense, and the Targumic **קרבנא**, Syr **ܡܪܩܐ** are of very

¹ as Suyuṭī, *Itq* 118 and *LA* i 124 Note also that Ibn Kathir read **مِرَان** not **قُرْبَان**

² Torrey *Foundation* 48 suggests a Jewish **קרבן** but such a form is hypothetical

³ Horowitz *Der Islam* xiii 66 ff and *KU'* 74 Buhl *FI* ii 1063 Wellhausen *ZDMG* lxxvii 634 Noldeke *Schwally* i, 33 34 Mingana, *Syriac Influence* 88 Massignon *Iexique* 52 Ahrens *Muhammed* 133

⁴ In xlvi, 27, it means favourites of a Prince and not *sacrifice*

common use From the Aram it was borrowed into Eth as 𐩧𐩣𐩪𐩬 (Noldeke, *Neue Beitrage*, 37), and the 𐩧𐩣𐩪𐩬 of the S Arabian inscriptions is doubtless of the same origin ¹

Hirschfeld, *Beitrage*, 88, would derive the Arabic word from the Hebrew,² but Sprenger, *Leben*, 1, 108, had already indicated that it was more likely from the Aram³ and the probabilities seem to point to its being from the Syriac⁴ It must have been an early borrowing as it occurs in the early literature

قِرطَاس (Qirtās)

v1, 7, 91

Parchment, or papyrus ⁴

In both passages the reference is to the material on which the Divine revelations were written down

The Muslim authorities make little effort to explain the word Some recognized it as a foreign word,⁵ a fact which indeed is apparent from the uncertainty that existed as to its spelling ⁶ It was evidently an early borrowing, for it occurs in the old poetry, and probably came to the Arabs from their more cultured Northern neighbours Von Kremer suggested that it was from the Gk χάρτη,⁷ but Sachau⁸ and Fraenkel⁹ are nearer the mark in thinking that χάρτης is the form behind قرطاس, especially as this form is found also in the Arm

քրտան,¹⁰ and the Aram ܩܪܬܝܣܐ ¹¹

It is not likely that the word came directly from the Greek, and Fraenkel, *Fremdw*, 245, thought that it came through the Aram ܩܪܬܝܣܐ ¹² meaning a *paper* or *document*, as in Levit Rabba, § 34

¹ ZDMG xxx 672 Rossini *Glossarium* 234 The verb 𐩧𐩣𐩪𐩬 means to approach a woman sexually

² So Fraenkel *Vocab* 20 Ahrens *Christliches* 32 favours a Jewish origin

³ Schwally *Idioticon* 84 Mingana *Syriac Influence* 85 Wensinck *EI* ii 1129 See Cheikho *Nasranīya* 209 for early examples of the use of the word

⁴ Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies* ii 21

⁵ al Jawahiri *Mu arrab* 125 as Suyuti *Itq* 323 al Khafaji 159

⁶ *LA* viii 54 notes قرطاس قرطس قرطس قرطاس and قرطاس

⁷ *Kulturgeschichte des Orients* ii 305

⁸ Notes to the *Mu arrab* p 57

⁹ *Fremdw* 245 cf also Vollers *ZDMG* l 617 624 li 301

¹⁰ Hubschmann *ZDMG* xlv 253 Brockelmann *ZDMG* xlvii 11

¹¹ Krauss *Griechische Lehnwörter* ii 567 (also ܩܪܬܝܣܐ ii 297)

¹² In *Vocab* 17 he suggests ܩܪܬܝܣܐ on which see Levv *Wörterbuch* ii 398

Mingana, *Syriac Influence*, 89, prefers to derive it through the Syr **ܩܪܝܬܐ**, which occurs beside **ܩܪܝܬܐ**, the source of the Eth **קריה**. It is really impossible to decide, though the fact that Tarafa in his *Mu'allaga*, l 31, seems to look on **قريطاس** as something peculiarly Syrian, may count in favour of Mingana's claim

قَرِيَّة (Qarya)

Occurs some fifty seven times both in sing and plu forms

A village

In Heb **קריה** is a poetical synonym for **עיר** a *town* or *city*, and it is a question whether it and the related **קרת**, Phon **קרת** (cf *Carthage*), Ras Shamra **קר**, **קרת**, and Moab **קר** (*Mesha Inscription*, 11, 12, 24) are not really related to the Heb **עיר** and derived from the Sumerian *uru*, a *state*. In any case the Heb **קריה** is parallel with the Syr **ܩܪܝܬܐ** a *town* or *village*, and from the Syriac came the Arabic **قريّة**, as Zimmern, *Akk Fremdw*, 9, notes (Cf Noldeke, *Beitrage*, 61 ff, and *Neue Beitrage*, 131)

قُرَيْش (Quraysh)

cvi, 1

Quraish

The philologers differ considerably among themselves over the origin of the name of this tribe. The popular etymology was that they were so called from their trading and profiting—**من التجارة والتقرّيش** (cf Zam on the verse and Ibn Hishām, 60). Others derived it from a verb **تقرّش** to *gather together*, holding that they were so called from their gathering or assembling at Mecca (cf *LA*, viii, 226, Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, iv, 79). Another theory derived the name from a tribal ancestor, Quraish b Makhlad, but as it does not explain this name it does not help us much ¹

¹ From a statement in the *Chronicles of Mecca* ii, 133 (ed Wustenfeld) we would gather that some thought the name was formed quite arbitrarily from three letters of the alphabet

The most satisfactory theory is that which derives the word from قَرَشٌ a shark,¹ cf Zam on the verse and LA, viii, 226 This is scoffed at by Yāqūt, but is accepted by at-Ṭabarī and al Damirī,² and it may well have been a totemistic tribal name Noldeke, *Beutrage*, 87, accepts this قَرَشٌ theory, and links the word with the Aram כרשא, which occurs in the Talmud, *Baba bathra*, 74^a, for a kind of fish, which Lewysohn thinks means the sunfish,³ and would derive from the Pers حورشید It is true that Pers حُورس means "something eatable", but حورشید is from the Av 𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎶 – 𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎶 hvārə xsaetəm, meaning sol splendidus,⁴ and has apparently nothing to do with fish of any kind Noldeke suggests with much more probability that it is a shortened form of the Gk καρχαρίας,⁵ a word which is used for a kind of small shark with pointed teeth, and which Nicander the Colophonian⁶ said was used also for a lamia or a squill

قسط (Qist)

iii, 16, 20 , iv, 126, 134 , v, 11, 46 , vi, 153 , vii, 28 , x, 4, 48, 55 ,
xi, 86 , xxi, 48 , lv, 8 , lvii, 25

Justice, equity

It would seem on the surface to be a derivative from قَسَطَ which occurs in iv, 3, lx, 8, xlix, 9, and of which other derivatives are found in ii, 282, xxxiii, 5, lxxii, 14, 15. This قَسَط, however, may be a denominative and as Suyūṭi, *Itq*, 323, *Mutaw*, 49, tells us

¹ Or *sword fish* (Margoliouth *Mohammed* 9) Ibn Faqih (ed de Goeje p 290) describes it as *سمكة اعظم من السيف*

² Tabarī *Annales* 1 1104 Damirī *Hayawan* 11 291 ff. *vide also Khizana* 1 98

³ *Zoologie der Talmud* Frankfurt 1858 p 271 This is accepted by Levvy *Wörterbuch* II 416 and Goldschmidt *Der Babylonische Talmud* VI 1136 though Jastrow *Dict Talmud* I 667 gives it as meaning probably the shark

⁴ Bartholomae *AIW* 1848 cf Yasht x 118 v 90

⁵ Cf. also Hess in *ZS* 11 220

⁶ In his Book on Dialects quoted by Athenaeus vii 76

that some early authorities thought قسط was a borrowing from Greek ¹

The root קשט is widely used in Aramaic but occurs elsewhere apparently as a loan word. Thus קשט, קושטא, like Syr ܩܫܬܐ, means *truth, right* ², Mand קשט is *to be true*, and Palm קשט *to succeed*, while in the Christian Palestinian dialect we find ܩܫܬܐ *true* ³. The Heb קשט is an Aramaizing, as Toy pointed out in his *Commentary on Proverbs*, and Fraenkel is doubtless correct in taking the Ar قسط as also of Aram[✓], probably of Christian Aram[✓] origin ⁴.

قِسْطَاس (Qistās)

xvii, 37, xxvi, 182

A balance

There was practical agreement among the early authorities that the word means primarily a *balance*, and then metaphorically *justice* (cf Rāghib, *Mufradāt* 413, *LA*, viii, 59). It was also very generally recognized as a loan word. Some considered it as a genuine Arabic word, a variant of قسط⁵, but the weight of the authorities as we see from as Suyūṭi, *Itq*, 323, *Muzhūr*, i, 130, al Jawālīqī, *Mu'arrab*, 114, ath Tha'alabī, *Fiqh*, 318, and as Sijistānī, 257, was in favour of its being taken as a borrowing from Greek ⁶. Its foreign nature is indeed indicated by the variety of spellings we find ⁷.

It was evidently an early borrowing, for it occurs in verses of

¹ This may be a reminiscence of the Lat *iusticia* though Sprenger *Leben* ii 219 thinks that it may be the Lat *sextarius*.

² Notice also the כושטא = honesty (with כ) of the incantation texts of Montgomery *Aramaic Incantation Texts* Glossary p 292.

³ Schwally *Idioticon* 86 Schulthess *Iex* 185.

⁴ *Fremdw* 205 Noldeke *SBAW* Berlin (1882) liv 5 thinks the noun is an Arabicizing of صسط but Dvorák *Fremdw* 76 78 would regard it as an Arabic word taken as foreign through its similarity in sound with قسطاس.

⁵ See Zam on xxvi 182 and the remarks in *TA* iv 218.

⁶ See also as Suyūṭi *Muḥr* i 137 Ibn Qutaiba (*Adab al Katib*) 527 al Khafājī 156 as Suyūṭi *Mutau* 49.

⁷ al Jawālīqī notes قسطاس قسطاس قسطاس to which we may add from *TA* قسطاس and قسطاس.

'Adī b Zaid, an-Nābigha,¹ and others The origin of the word, however, is not easy to settle Sachau in his notes to the *Mu'arrab*, p 51, quotes Fleischer as suggesting that it goes back to the Lat *constans* as used of the *libra* ² Fraenkel, *Fremdw*, 282, suggests a hypothetical **κούστας* as a possible origin, and in *WZKM*, vi, 261, would interpret it from *ζυγοστασία* Vullers, *Lex*, ii, 725, thought that it was probably a mangling of the Gk *ζεύγος* a *yoke*, and Dvořák *Fremdw*, 77 ff, would derive it from *ξέστης* from the Lat *sextarius* used as a measure of fluid and dry materials

All these suggestions seem to be under the influence of the theory of the philologists that the word is of Greek origin It would seem much more hopeful to start from the Aram ܡܫܬܐ, ܡܫܬܐ, ܡܫܬܐ meaning *measure*, or the Syr ܡܫܬܐ The final *s* here, however, presents a difficulty, and Vollers, *ZDMG*, i, 633,³ suggests that it is from the Gk *δικαστής* a *judge*, which in Syr is ܡܫܬܐ (BB, in *PSm*, 891), and with the ܐ taken as the genitive particle, would give us ܡܫܬܐ This, influenced by the similar

ܡܫܬܐ also = *δικαστής*, would give us قسطاس This is very ingenious and may be true, but Mingana, *Syriac Influence*,[✓] 89, thinks it simpler to take it from ܡܫܬܐ representing *ξέστης* in some form in which the final ܐ had survived

قَسِيسُون (*Qissīsūn*)

v, 85

Priests

From the passage it is clear that it refers to Christian teachers, and though one would not care to press the point, its occurrence alongside رهبان may indicate that it referred to the ordinary clergy as distinct from the monks

It was generally considered by the philologists as a genuine Arabic

¹ Fraenkel *WZKM* vi 258 however thinks the verse attributed to an Nabigha is under Qur'anic influence

² On which see Fraenkel *Fremdw* 198 It was rejected by Noldeke but defended by Ginzburg in *Zapiski* viii 145 ff

³ See also i 620 li 301 323

word ¹ derived from **قَسَّ** to seek after or pursue a thing, so that a **قَسِيس** is so called "because he follows the Book and its precepts", as-Sijistānī, 259 Obviously the word is the Syr **ܩܨܝܣܐ** = *πρεσβύτερος*, as has been generally recognized by Western scholars ² This word could hardly fail to be known to any Arab tribes which came into contact with the Christians of the North and East, and as a matter of fact both forms of the word were borrowed into Arabic, **قَسِيس** (cf Aram **ܩܨܝܣܐ**) as **قَس**, and **ܩܨܝܣܐ** as **قَسِيس**, while the Hadith

لَا يَعِيرُ قَسِيسٌ مِّنْ قَسِيسِيَّةٍ shows that they were not unacquainted with the abstract noun **ܩܨܝܣܝܬܐ**

We meet with the word in the early poetry,³ which shows it must have been an early borrowing, and as a matter of fact it occurs as a borrowing both in Eth **ቀሲሲ**,⁴ and in the S Arabian inscriptions (e.g. Glaser, 618 67 — **𐩦𐩣𐩭𐩬𐩪𐩣𐩪 𐩦𐩣𐩬𐩪 𐩨𐩣𐩪𐩣**),⁵ on the ground of which Grimme, *ZA*, xxvi, 162, would take the word to be from a S Arabian source, though with little likelihood

قَصْرٌ (*Qasr*)

vii, 72, xxii, 44, xxv, 11, lxxvii, 32

A castle

The word has no verbal root in Arabic, and was noted by Guidi, *Della Sede*, 579, as a borrowing Fraenkel, *Vocab*, 14, is doubtless correct in deriving it from Lat^v *castrum*, through Gk *κάστρον* and Aram **ܩܨܪܐ** ⁶ The word occurs not infrequently in the early poetry, and is probably to be considered as one of the words which came into Syria and Palestine with the Roman armies of occupation ⁷

¹ But see al Jawalīqī *Mu'arrab* 39

² Geiger 51 Fleischer *Kleinere Schriften* ii 118 Freytag *Lex* sub voc Fraenkel *Vocab* 24 Fremdw 275 Rudolph *Abhängigkeit* 7 Horowitz *KU* 64 Mingana *Syriac Influence* 85

³ Cf *Aghani* xiii 47 170 xvi 45

⁴ Noldeke *Neue Beiträge* 37 Pautz *Offenbarung* 136 n

⁵ Cf on it Praetorius in *ZDMG* liii 21 Rossini *Glossarium* 233

⁶ That **ܩܨܪܐ** as used in the Mishnah and Jerusalem Talmud is but a form of **ܩܨܪܐ** which like **ܩܨܝܣܐ** was derived directly from *κάστρον* has been shown by Noldeke *ZDMG* xxix 423 cf also Guidi op cit and Krauss *Griechische Lehnwörter* ii 562

⁷ Fraenkel *Fremdw* 234 Vollers *ZDMG* i 614 li 316

قَطَّ (Qatt)

xxxviii, 15

A judge's sentence

In general the opinion of the Commentators is that قَطَّ means some sort of writing (cf Bagh *in loco*, and Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 417) Some, however, recognized it as a foreign word, for as Suyūṭī, *Itq*, 323, quotes authority for its meaning *book* in Nabataean

Halevy suggested that it was to be derived from Akk *kithu*, but this is hardly likely Fraenkel, *Fremdw*, 249, agrees with as Suyūṭī's authorities in taking it as a loan word from Aramaic¹ In the Mishnah כְּטוּלָה means an official document, though later it was specialized in the meaning of "bill of divorce" So כְּטוּלָה and כְּטוּלָה both mean *writing* and *document*, and Levy, *Wörterbuch*, 1, 322, suggests they may be originally from Gk' *χάρτης* Syr כְּטוּלָה became specialized in the meaning of *haereditas*, and is not so likely an origin If a borrowing, it must have been early, for several examples occur in the old poetry²

قَطِرَانَ (Qatirān)

xiv, 51

Pitch

This curious word occurs only in a passage descriptive of the torments of the wicked on the Last Day, where the pronunciation of the Readers varied between قَطِرَانَ, قَطْرَانَ, and قِطْرَانَ This last reading is supported by the early poetry and is doubtless the most primitive³

Zam tells us that it was an exudation from the Ubhal tree used for smearing mangy camels, but from the discussion in *LA*, vi, 417, we learn that the philologers were somewhat embarrassed over the word, and we have an interesting tradition that Ibn 'Abbās knew not

¹ The ultimate origin is apparently the Sumerian *gida* whence comes Akk *gittu* and the Aram forms of Zimmern *Akkad Fremdw* 19

² Cf the verse of Al A sha in Jawharī ۴۷ قَطَط (where Cheikho *Naṣranīya* 222 thinks that by قَطَط al A sha means the Gospel) and Mutalammis in Yaḳūt *Mu jam* 1۷ 228

³ Vide Tab on the verse

what to make of it, and wanted to read *قِطْرَ آں*,¹ which would make it mean "red hot brass", and link it with the *قِطْرُ* of xviii, 95, and xxxiv, 11

The truth seems to be that it is the Aram *ܩܬܪܐ*, Syr *ܩܬܪܐ* meaning *pitch*, which though not a very common word is an early one. Some confusion of *ق* and *ك* must have occurred when the word was borrowed, but it is interesting that the primitive form *قِطْرَ آں* of the poets preserved exactly the vowelings of the Aram.²

قفل (*Qufḷ*)

xlvi, 26

A lock

Only in the plu *أقفال*, where al Jawalīqī, *Mu'arrab*, 125, says it is a borrowing from Persian.³

The verb *قفل* is denominative⁴ and the word cannot be derived from an Arabic root. It is probably the Aram *ܩܦܠܐ* a *fetter*, or Syr *ܩܦܠܐ*, which translates the Gk *κλειθρον*, and would have been an early borrowing.⁵

قلم (*Qalam*)

iii, 39, xxxi, 26, lxviii, 1, xcvi, 4

Pen, or the reed from which pens were made

It means a *pen* in all the passages save iii, 39, where it refers to the reeds which were cast to decide who should have care of the maiden Maryam, and where the *اقلام*, of course, stands for the *ράβδοι* of the *Protev Jacobi*, ix.⁶

¹ Baid gives this as the reading of Ya qub

² Cf Fraenkel *Fremdu* 150 Zimmern *Akkad Fremdw* 60

³ So as Suyutī *Itq* 323 al Jawalīqī is probably referring to the Pers *کومال*

⁴ Fraenkel *Fremdw* 16 Zimmern *Akkad Fremdw* 35 gives it from the Aramaic

⁵ Cf Krauss *Griechische Lehnwörter* ii 517 and ZDMG xxvii 623

⁶ In Tischendorf *Evangelia Apocrypha* 1876 p 18

The native authorities take the word from قَلَمٌ to cut (cf *LA*, xv, 392), but this is only folk etymology, for the word is the Gk *κάλαμος* a reed and then a pen,¹ though coming through some Semitic form *κάλαμος* was borrowed into Aram, where we find קולמוס, Syr ܩܠܡܐ, but it was from the Eth *ቀለም*, as Noldeke, *Neue Beutrage*, 50, has shown, that the word came into Arabic. It was an early borrowing, for it is found both in the old poetry and in the S Arabian inscriptions (Rossini, *Glossarium*, 232, for 𐩦𐩣𐩪 as *calamus odoratus*)

قَمِيصٌ (*Qamīs*)

xii, 18-28, 93

Shirt

It is curious that the word occurs only in the Joseph story

The authorities usually take it as an Arabic word, though as Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, i, 135, quotes al Asma'i to the effect that some held it was of Persian origin

It is clear that it cannot have an Arabic derivation, and the underlying word is doubtless the Gk *καμισιον*. This *καμίσιον* has been taken as a borrowing from Semitic, but, as Boissacq, 403, shows in his note on *κάμματος*, it is genuine Indo European. The Gk *καμίσιον* passed into Syr as ܩܡܝܣܝܐ,² and into Eth as ቀሚዳ, which is used in *Josippon*, 343, for a tunic or shirt, and is in all probability the source of the Arabic word.³ It must have been an early borrowing for we find it not infrequently in the old poetry

قِنْطَارٌ (*Qintār*)

iii, 12, 68, iv, 24

Qintār—a measure

It was recognized by the philologists as of foreign origin, and though some, like Sibawayh, held to an Arabic origin, Abū 'Ubayda (*LA*, vi,

¹ *καλαμος* is a good Indo European word as is evident from the Skt कलम Norse *halmr* Slav *slama* cf Boissacq 397

² See Fraenkel *Fremdw* 45

³ Vollers *ZDMG* li 311 thinks that the Arabic came from the Lat *camisia* but this is hardly likely

432) expressly states that the Arabs did not know the meaning of the word ¹ Some said it was a Berber word (as-Suyūṭī, *Itq*, 323), others that it was Syriac (as Suddī in *Mukhaṣṣas*, xii, 266), but the majority were in favour of its being Greek[✓] (ath Tha'ālībī, *Fiqh*, 318, as Suyūṭī, *Muzḥir*, i, 134)

Undoubtedly it is the Gk[✓] *κεντηναριον*, which represents the Lat *centenarium*, and passed into Aram as קנטינר, Syr صلهبر² It was from the Aram, as Fraenkel, *Vocab*, 13, *Fremdw*, 203, shows, that the word[✓] came into Arabic, and in all probability from the shortened Syr[✓] form صله³

قِيَامَةٌ (*Qiyāma*)

Occurs some seventy times, cf ii, 79

Resurrection

It occurs only in the expression يوم القيامة, which is a technical eschatological term for the Last Day

The Muslim authorities naturally relate it to the root قام to *stand* or *rise*, but it has been pointed out many times, that as an eschatological term it has been borrowed from Christian Aramaic⁴ In the Edessene Syriac we find صله commonly used, but it is in the Christian Palestinian dialect, where it translates ἀνάστασις (Schwally, *Idioticon*, 82), that we find صله, which provides us with exactly the form we want

قِيَوْمٌ (*Qayyūm*)

ii, 256, iii, 1, xx, 110

Self subsisting

It occurs only in the phrase الحى القيوم used of Allah

¹ This is evident from the variety of opinions on its meaning collected by Ibn Sida in the *Mukhaṣṣas* xii 266 and Ibn al Athir in *Nihaya* iii 313

² Krauss *Griechische Lehnwörter* ii 553 It was from this form that the Arm ܠܬܝܢܐܪܝܐ was derived (Hübischmann *Arm Gramm* i 356)

³ Mingana *Syriac Influence* 89 Vollers, *ZDMG* li 316

⁴ Cf Pautz *Offenbarung* 165 n 1 Mingana op cit 85 Horovitz *JPN* 186, notes that the phrase is not Jewish

The Commentators are unanimous that the meaning is **القائم** **الدائم** (Ṭab, Baiḍ, and as Siyistānī, 250), but they were in difficulties over the form, and there are variants **قيام**, **قيم**, and **قائم**. Their trouble in explaining the form is well illustrated by al 'Ukbarī, *Imlā'*, 1, 70, for the only possibility is to take it as on the measure **قيعول**, and we have reason to suspect all words of this form. It is not strange, therefore, in spite of its obvious connection with **قام**, to find that some of the authorities took it as a word borrowed from the Syriac ¹

Hirschfeld, *Beitrage*, 38, would derive it from Hebrew, and certainly **ק"ם** is used in connection with **ק"י** in Jewish texts of the oldest period,² but **صفا** is also commonly used in the same sense and we cannot absolutely rule out a Syriac origin for the word.

كَاسٌ (Ka's)

xxxvii, 44, li, 23, lvi, 18, lxxvi, 5, 17, lxxviii, 34

Cup

It is found only in early passages in descriptions of the pleasures of Paradise.

This is not a S Semitic word, as it is entirely lacking in Eth and without a root and of uncertain plu in Arabic. There can thus be little doubt of its Aram origin.³

The Heb word is **כוס**, while in the Ras Shamra texts we have **כס**, and in Aram **כוסא**, **כסא**, and **כוסא** (cf Ar **كُورٌ**), and Syr **ܟܘܪܐ**.⁴ As the Syr **ܟܘܪܐ** seems to be the source of the Pers

¹ as Suyutī, *Itq* 324 *Mutaw* 54

² Fraenkel *Vocab* 23, Noldeke Schwally 1, 184 n and see Sprenger *Leben* 11 204 n. It is noteworthy that the best attested variant reading **قام** agrees closely in form with **ק"ם**. See also Horovitz *JPN* 219 who as a matter of fact would derive the word **ק"י** also from the Jewish **ק"י**.

³ Fraenkel *Fremdw* 171 Zimmern *Akkad Fremdw* 34 D H Müller, how ever *WZKM* 1 27 thinks that the medial Hamza proves it to be genuine Arabic.

⁴ Cf also the **כוס** of the Elephantine papyri (Cowley *Aramaic Papyri* No 61).

کاسه¹ we may take it as most probable that the Arabic also was borrowed at an early period² from the same source

کافور (Kāfūr)

lxxvi, 5

Camphor

The verse is an early one descriptive of the joys of Paradise, where the Commentators were uncertain whether کافور was the name of the fountain from which the Blessed drink, or the material used to temper the drink (cf Tab and Baiḍ on the verse)

It is usually taken as an Arabic word (*LA*, vi, 465), but the variety of spellings—کافور, قافور, قemor, and قemor—would suggest otherwise, and several of the early authorities noted it as a loan word from Persian³ ✓

The ultimate source is probably to be found in the Munḍa dialects of India, whence it passed into Dravidian, e.g. Tamil கஃபுரம், Malayalam കപ്പുറം, and into Skt, cf कपूर⁴. It passed also into Iranian, where we find Phlv کاپور, *kāpūr*,⁵ which gives the Mod Pers کافور and Arm քափուր,⁶ and into Aram where we find Syr ܟܥܘܪ⁷ and Mand ܟܥܘܪܐ⁸. It is very probable that the Syriac like the Gk καφουρά is from the Iranian, and Addai Sher, 136, would make the Arabic also a borrowing from the Persians. The probabilities are, however, that it, like the Eth ክፋር, is to be taken as derived from the Syriac⁹. We find the

¹ Addai Sher 131. The Persian Lexicons take this to be the source of the Arabic word of Vullers *Ler* ii 769 کاس معرب کاسه اسب

² It occurs in the early poets e.g. Al Aṣḥa and Alqama

³ as Suyuṭī *Itq* 324 al Jawahiri *Muarrab*, 129 al Khafajī 170 ath Tha alibi *Fiqh* 318

⁴ For further examples see Laufer *Sino Iranica* 591

⁵ Justi *Glossary to Bundahesh* 201. The Persian Lexicons e.g. *BQ* 691 note that camphor came to them from India

⁶ Hubschmann *Arm Gramm* i 257

⁷ Also ܟܥܘܪܐ, ܟܥܘܪܐ and ܟܥܘܪܐ *PSm* 3688 3689

⁸ Noldeke *Mand Gramm* 112

⁹ Fraenkel *Vocab* 11 *Fremdw* 147

word in the early poetry (e g in al A'shā),¹ but the story told by Balādhurī (ed de Goeje, 264), that the Arab soldiers who conquered Madā'in found stores of camphor there and took it for salt, would seem to show that the article was not widely known in Arabia

كَاهِن (Kāhin)

li, 29, lxix, 42

A soothsayer

It occurs only in the early Meccan period and in a depreciatory sense, for Muhammad rejects with some asperity the idea that in giving forth his revelations he was on a level with the كَاهِن. This shows that the word was pre Islamic, and it seems that the Arabic كَاهِن was the equivalent of the Gk μάντις or the Lat vates, i e he was a *Seer* rather than a *Prophet* ²

The Muslim authorities naturally take it from كَاهِن, but this verb seems denominative. The Heb word is כהן and means *priest*, as in Phon and in the Ras Shamra tablets, and from the Heb came the Aram כהנא, Syr כסנ ³. That the Arabic word also was borrowed directly from the Hebrew is not likely. Pautz, *Offenbarung*, 175, n 2, has a theory that it came by way of the Eth ከህን, but like this word itself and the Arm քահանայ, ⁴ it is more likely to have come from the Aram ⁵. As a matter of fact it occurs not infrequently in the Sinaitic inscriptions from N Arabia, ⁶ where we find כהנא and the fem כהנאה, ⁷ and actually in No 550 כהן עזיזא, i e the priest of al 'Uzzā, so that as Noldeke, *Neue Beutrage*, 36, n, insists, we have clear evidence that it came into use in N Arabia from some Aram source long before Islam.

The analogy of the inscriptions would lead us to conclude that

¹ Geyer *Zwei Gedichte* 1 61

² *JA* xvii 244 Wellhausen *Reste* 134 Goldziher *Abhandlungen* 1 18 ff 107 ff Sprenger *Leben* 1 255

³ G B Gray *Sacrifice in the Old Testament* p 183

⁴ Hubschmann *Arm Gramm* 1 318 *ZDMG* xlvii 252

⁵ Cheikhō *Nasraniya* 200 Mingana *Syriac Influence* 85

⁶ Euting *Sinaitische Inschriften* Nos 550 249 348 and 223

⁷ Cf also the Safaite כהנת (Ryckmans *Noms propres* 1 113)

the primitive sense in Arabic was *priest*, and that of *soothsayer* a later development, in spite of Fischer's claim that *soothsayer* is the original sense ¹

كِبْرِيَاءُ (*Kibrīyā'*)

x, 79, xlv, 36

Glory

It is connected in form but not in meaning with the Arabic root

ك

The root is common Semitic, cf Akk *kabāru*, to *become great*, Heb כָּבַר (in Hiph) to *make many*, Aram כְּבַר, Syr ܕܒܪ, Eth ክብረ to *honour*, and cf Sab 𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩠 large and *Prince* (Hommel, *Sudarab Chrest*, 127, Rossini, *Glossarium*, 167)

The usual theory is that the Qur'ānic word is a development from the Ar كبر to *become great, magnificent*, but as it was in Eth that the root developed prominently the meaning of *gloriosum, illustrum esse*, we may perhaps see in the Eth ክብረ commonly used as meaning *gloria, honor* (= δόξα), and then *magnificencia, splendor* (Dillmann, *Lex*, 846), the source of the word (cf Ahrens, *Christliches*, 23, *Muhammad*, 78)

كَتَبَ (*Kataba*)

Of frequent occurrence

To write

Besides the verb we should note the derived forms in the Qur'ān—

كِتَاب a book, writing (plu كُتُب), كَاتِب one who writes, مَكْتُوب written, اِكْتُتِب to cause to be written, and كَاتَب to write a contract of manumission

The word appears to be a N Semitic development and found only as a borrowed term in S Semitic Heb כָּתַב, Aram ܕܬܒ,

¹ *EI* sub voc Fischer also claims that the word is Arabic and not a borrowed term, as does Nielsen in *HAA*, 1, 245

Syr **ܠܬ**, Nab **כתב**, and Phon **כתב** all mean *to write*, and with them Buhl compares Ar **לת** *to draw or sew together*¹

The borrowing was doubtless from Aram,² and Fraenkel, *Fremdw*, 249, thinks that the borrowed word was **כתב**, which like Eth **כתב** came from Aram **כתבא**, Syr **ܠܬ**, and that then the verb and other forms developed from this. The borrowing may have taken place at al Hira, whence the art of writing spread among the Arabs,³ but as both nominal and verbal forms are common in Nabataean (cf *RES*, II, 464, III, 443), it may have been an early borrowing from N Arabia

كُرْسِي (*Kursy*)

II, 256, xxxviii, 33

Throne

It has no verbal root, though some have endeavoured to connect it with **كرسى** (cf Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 441), a connection which is hardly possible

Fraenkel, *Vocab*, 22, noted that it was a borrowing from the Aramaic ✓ In the Zenjurlı inscription we find **כרסא**,⁴ which is connected with Akk *kussū*, Heb **כסא**, and Ras Shamra **כסא**, but the commoner form is **כורסא**,⁵ Syr **ܠܬ** or **ܠܬ**. This gives us precisely the form we want, but whether the word was from Jewish ✓ sources as Hirschfeld, *Beiträge*, 88, claims, or from Christian ✓ as Schwally, *ZDMG*, lIII, 197, holds, it is quite impossible to decide.⁶

¹ Vide Fleischer in *ZDMG* xxvii 427, n. From this we have **کس** *squadron*

² *BDB* 507 D H Muller *WZKM* I 29 Horovitz *KU* 67 Fischer *Glossar*, 112 Kunstlinger in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* IV 238 ff

³ Vide Krenkow in *EI* II 1044

⁴ D H Muller *Inscriptionen von Sendschirlı* 58 44 cf Cook *Glossary* 66

⁵ Found also on incantation bowls cf Montgomery *Aramaic Incantation Texts* Glossary p 292

⁶ Cf Noldeke *Mand Gramm* 128 Rudolph *Abhängigkeit* 12 The word comes ultimately from the Sumerian *guza* whence Akk *kuseu* Zimmern *Akkad Fremdw* 8

كَفَرَ (Kafara)

Used very frequently

To deny the grace or existence of God then—to be an unbeliever

In its various forms it is of common use in the Qur'ān, and the root is undoubtedly Arabic, but as a technical religious term it has been influenced by outside usage

The primitive sense of كَمَرَ *to cover or conceal*, corresponds with the Aram כַּפַּר, Syr ܕܡܥܬܐ, and a derivative from this primitive sense occurs in the Qur'ān, lvii, 19, in the word كُفَّار *husbandmen*, 1 e

“they who cover the seed” The form كَفَّرَ, however, corresponds with the Heb כָּפַר, Aram כַּפַּר, and means *to cover* in the sense of

*atone*¹ In this sense it is used with عَنِ, and as Suyūṭī, *Itq*, 324, *Mutaw*,

56, tells us that some early authorities noted this كَفَرَ عَنِ as derived from Hebrew[✓] or Nabataean[✓] The commoner use, however, is with

ب in the sense of to deny the existence or goodness of God, and this

use with ب is characteristic of Syriac[✓] The form كَافَر an *unbeliever*

and كُفْر *unbelief*, may indeed be independent borrowings from the

Heb כָּפַר, Syr ܕܡܥܬܐ and ܕܡܥܬܐ (Ahrens, *Christliches*, 41), though a כַּפַּר as a proper name seems to occur in the Thamudic

inscriptions (Ryckmans, *Noms propres*, 1, 115) The form كَفَّارَة

may, however, be a direct borrowing from the Jews,[✓] cf Horovitz, *JPN*, 220

Hirschfeld, *Beiträge*, 90, Horovitz, *KU*, 59, and Torrey, *Foundation*, 48, 144, would have the dominant influence on the Arabic in this connection from the Jewish community, and Pautz, *Offenbarung*, 159, n, Mingana, *Syriac Influence*, 86, stand for a Christian[✓] source Again it is really impossible to decide (cf Ahrens *Christliches*, 21)

¹ The S Arabian 𐩣𐩬𐩨 seems also to have this meaning cf Rossini *Glossarium* 170

كَزَزَ (Kanz)

xi, 15, xviii, 81, xxv, 9, xxvi, 58, xxviii, 76

Treasure

The denominative verb كَزَزَ *to treasure up* is also found in ix, 34, 35

Some of the Muslim authorities take it as genuine Arabic and derive it from كَزَزَ, but it was well known to the early philologists that it was a foreign word and it is noted as such by al Jawālīqī, *Mu'arrab*, 133, ath Tha'alibī, *Fiqh*, 317, al Khafajī, 170, all of whom give it as Persian كسح, meaning, of course, كسح, which BQ, 797, defines as در و کوهری که در زیر رمی کسد

That it was originally Iranian is certain Paz ganz, Phlv 𐭪𐭭𐭮𐭭 *ganj* means *treasury*,¹ and the word has been widely borrowed, cf Skt गज्ज, Arm գանձ², Baluchi, *ganj*, Gk γάζα, Sogd γnz, and in the Semitic family, cf גנזי המלך of Esth iii, 9, Aram גנזא, גניזה, and גנז³, Syr ܡܢܙܐ, and Mand ܡܢܙܐ,⁴ all meaning *treasury*. The direct borrowing of all these from Middle Persian seems clear from the fact that the Phlv 𐭪𐭭𐭮𐭭𐭭𐭮𐭭 *ganjābar*⁵ for the *treasurer* is also common to them all, cf Skt गज्जवर, Arm գանձաւոր (Gk γαζοφύλαξ), Heb גזבר, Syr ܡܢܙܐ ܡܠܝܚܐ, and Aram ܡܢܙܐ (cf Telegdi in JA, ccxxvi (1935), p 237, Henning in BSOS, ix, 83)

It is most probable that the word came direct from Middle Persian into Arabic,⁶ though ر for 𐭪 might point to Aram influence on the word. The word must have been borrowed long before Muhammad's time, though it occurs but rarely in the old poetry

¹ West Glossary 274 PPGL 112 Nyberg Glossar 77 Herzfeld *Parthian Glossary* 159 Lagarde *Arm Stud* § 453 thinks that it is an old Median word which passed later into Iranian and thence to India cf also his G 4 27

² Hubschmann *Arm Gramm* 1 126

³ Levy *Wörterbuch* 1 316 however thinks that גניזה and גנז are from גנז to hide

⁴ Noldeke *Mand Gramm* 51

⁵ PPGL 119 Frahang Glossary 79 It is the Pers گجور and Paz ganzubar (Shikand Glossary 245) Compare also Phlv *ganjenak* = barn or storehouse (Sayast Glossary 161)

⁶ Vollers ZDMG 1 613 647

كُوب (Kūb)

xlii, 71, lvi, 18, lxxvi, 15, lxxxviii, 14

A goblet

It occurs only in early Sūras in descriptions of the pleasures of Paradise, and was recognized by some of the early authorities as a Nabataean word (cf as Suyūṭi, *Itq*, 319, *Mutaw*, 60) ¹ Some, of course, endeavoured to derive it from كَاب, but this verb is obviously denominative (*TA*, i, 464, *LA*, ii, 225)

The word is commonly used in the early poetry, cf 'Adī b Zaid, al A'shā (Geyer, *Zwei Gedichte*, i, 56 = *Dīwān*, ii, 21), 'Abda b aṭ-Tabīb,² etc, and seems to have been an early loan word from Aram, as Horowitz, *Paradies*, 11, has noted, though Aram כּוּבָא, Syr ܟܘܒܐ both seem to be from the Byzantine κοῦπα (Lat *cupa*, cf Fraenkel, *Vocab*, 25), from the older Gk³ κύμβη ³

كَيْل (Kail)

vi, 153, vii, 83, xii, 59, 65, 88, xvii, 37, xxvi, 181

A measure

The philologists insist that it means a measure of food-stuffs (Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 460), but in the Qur'an it is used in a quite general sense

Fraenkel, *Fremdw*, 204, pointed out that it is the Syr⁴ ܟܝܠ, which, like the Aram כּײַלָּא, means *measure* כּײַלָּא is seldom used, but ܟܝܠ is of very common use and has many derivatives, and was borrowed into Iranian,⁴ so that it was the Syriac word that would have passed at an early date into Arabic

لَات (Lāta)

xxxviii, 2

There was not

¹ Vide also Sprenger *Leben* ii 507 n

² In *Mufaḍḍaliyat* (ed Lyall) xxvi, 76

³ Levy *Fremdw* 151 points out a very probable Semitic origin for κύμβη in the sense of *ship* but in that under discussion the borrowing seems to be the other way for as Boissacq sub voc points out it is a true Indo European word Vollers *ZDMG* li 316 would derive كُوب from the Italian, but see Nallino therein p 534

⁴ Cf Nöldeke *GGA* 1868 ii 44

The philologists were in some straits to explain the word as can be seen by consulting the two columns which Lane, *Lex*, 2683, devotes to a summary of their opinions. The three commonest theories were

- (i) that it was لا with the meaning of ليس, to which a fem ت has been added¹, (ii) that it was the negative لا with a fem ending², (iii) that it was another way of writing ليس³. Some tried to overcome the difficulty by reading لا تحيى instead of لات حيى, and some, as we learn from as Suyūṭī, *Itq*, 275, *Mutaw*, 54, admitted that it was a loan word of Syriac origin.

Aram לא אית and Syr ܠܐܝܬ, contracted from لا ايت and represented by the Ar ليس, are of very common use, and from some Aram source the word was borrowed as an ideogram into Middle Persian where we find 𐭪𐭭 *lōt*,⁴ which was also commonly used and gave rise to 𐭪𐭭𐭮 *lōtīh*, meaning *non existence, unreality*.⁵ It was thus probably borrowed at an early date into Arabic,⁶ though, as it occurs in the early poetry,⁷ Barth has argued that it is genuine Arabic.⁸

لَوْح (Lauh)

vii, 142, 149, 153, liv, 13 lxxxv, 22

A board or plank

There are two distinct uses of the word in the Qur'ān. In liv, 13, it is used for the planks of Noah's ark, and elsewhere for tablets of revelation, in Sūra, vii, for the tablets of Moses, and in lxxxv, 32, for the heavenly archetype of the Qur'ān.

¹ This was the opinion of Sibawaih and Khalil given by Zam on the verse

² So al Akhfāsh in Zam

³ See Tab on the verse and LA ii 391. Bagh says that it was Yemenite

⁴ West *Glossary* 141. PPGI 149

⁵ West *Glossary* 142

⁶ Mingana *Syriac Influence* 93

⁷ Geyer *Zwei Gedichte* i 18 = *Diwan* i, 3 and see examples in ZDMG lxvii 494 and Reckendorf, *Syntax*

⁸ ZDMG lxvii 494 ff. lxviii 362 363 and see Bergsträsser, *Negationen im Kur'an*

In the related languages we find both these meanings. The Heb לוח means both the planks of a ship (as in Ez xxvii, 5), and the stone tablets of the Ten Commandments (Ex xxiv, 12). Similarly, Aram ܠܚܬܐ can mean a *table* for food, or, as constantly in the Targums, the *tablets* of the Covenant, so Syr ܠܚܬܐ is used of a wooden board, e.g. the *τίτλος* affixed to the Cross, and for the *tablets* of the Covenant. Also the Eth ለውሕ, though not a common word, is used for the broken boards on which Paul and his companions escaped from shipwreck in Acts xxvii, 44 (ed Rom), and also for writing tablets of wood, metal, or stone.

In the early Arabic poetry we find the word used only in the sense of plank, cf. Tarafa iv, 12, Imru'ul Qais, x, 13, and Zuhair, i, 23 (in Ahlwardt's *Divans*),¹ and the Lexicons take this as the primitive meaning. The word may be a loan word in both senses, but even if a case could be made out for its being a genuine Arabic word in the sense of *plank*, there can be no doubt that as used for the Tables of Revelation it is a borrowing from the older faiths. Hirschfeld, *Beitrage*, 36, would have it derived from the Hebrew,² but Horovitz, *KU*, 66, *JPN*, 220, 221, is more likely to be correct³ in considering it as from the Aram, though whether from Jewish or Christian sources it is difficult to say.

If we can trust the genuineness of a verse of Saraqa b. 'Auf in *Aghānī*, xv, 138, which refers to Muhammad's revelations as *الوَّاح*, we may judge that the word was used in this technical sense among Muhammad's contemporaries.

لُوط (Lūt)

Occurs some twenty seven times, cf. vi, 86

Lot

Always the Biblical Lot, whose name some of the authorities derive from لاط (cf. Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 472, ath Tha'labī, *Qisas*, 72), but which Jawharī recognizes as a foreign name³

¹ Cf. also ash Shammakh xvii 13 in Geyer *Zwei Gedichte* i 136

² Vide also Fraenkel *Vocab* 21 Cheikho *Nasraniya* 221

³ So al Jawahiri, *Mu'arrab* 134 al Khafaji, 175

The name is apparently unknown in pre Islamic literature, though it must have been known to the circle of Muhammad's audience¹ From its form one would conclude that it came from the Syr ܡܠܬܐ, rather than the Heb מלח, a conclusion that is strengthened by the Christian colouring of the Lot story³

مَائِدَة (Mā'ida)

v, 112, 114

Table

A late word found only in a late Madinan verse, where the reference is to a table which Jesus brought down for His disciples

The Muslim authorities take it to be a form مَائِدَة from مَاد (cf *LA*, iv, 420), though the improbability of their explanations is obvious It has been demonstrated several times that the passage v, 112-15 is a confusion of the Gospel story of the feeding of the multitude with that of the Lord's Supper⁴ Fraenkel, *Vocab*, 24,⁵ pointed out that in all probability the word is the Eth ማእድ, which among the Abyssinian Christians is used almost technically for the *Lord's Table*, e.g. ማእድ እግዚአብሔር, while Noldeke's examination of the word in *Neue Beiträge*, 54, has practically put the matter beyond doubt⁶

Addai Sher, 148, however, has argued in favour of its being taken as a Persian word Relying on the fact that مَائِدَة is said by the Lexicons to mean *food* as well as *table*, he wishes to derive it from Pers مِيْدَة, meaning *farina triticea*⁷ Praetorius also, who in *ZDMG*, lxi, 622 ff, endeavours to prove that Eth ማእድ and the Amh ማድ are taken from Arabic, takes مَائِدَة back to Pers مِير⁸ (earlier pro

¹ Horovitz *KU* 136

² But see Sycr *Eugenennamen* 37

³ Vide Kunstlinger Christliche Herkunft der Kuranischen Lotlegende in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* (1931) vii 281-295

⁴ Noldeke *ZDMG* xii 700 Bell *Origin* 136

⁵ Vide also his *Fremdw* 83 and Jacob *Bedunnenleben* 235

⁶ Vide also Wellhausen *Reste* 232 n Pautz *Offenbarung* 255 n Vollers *ZDMG* li 294 Cheikho *Nasraniya* 210

⁷ Vullers *Lex* ii 1252

⁸ Vullers *Lex* ii 1254

nounced *māz*), through forms *مید*, *مید*, and *میده*. Now there is a Phlv word *𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥* *myazd*,¹ meaning a sacred repast of the Parsis, of which the people partake at certain festivals after the recitation of prayers and benedictions for the consecration of the bread, fruit, and wine used therein. It seems, however, very difficult to derive *مائدة* from this, and still more difficult from the forms proposed by Praetorius. Noldeke rightly objects that the forms *māz* and *māz* which Praetorius quotes from the Mehri and 'Umani dialects in favour of his theory, are hardly to the point, for these dialects are full of Persian elements of late importation. Praetorius has given no real explanation of the change of *z* to *d* whereas on the other side may be quoted the Bihl *mād* and the Beja *mēs* which are correct formations from a stem giving *ጠደ* in Eth, and thus argue for its originality in that stock.

مَاعُون (Mā'ūn)

cvii, 7

Help

This curious word occurs only in an early Meccan Sūra, though v, 7, is possibly Madīnan (cf. Noldeke Schwally, i, 93), and the Commentators could make nothing of it. The usual theory is that it is a form *فاعول* from *مَعَنَ*, though some derived it from *عَانَ*.

Noldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, 28, shows that it cannot be explained from Arabic material,² and that we must look for its origin to some foreign source. Geiger, 58,³ would derive it from Heb *מִעוּן* a *refuge*, which is possible but not without its difficulties. Rhodokanakis, *WZKM*, xxv, p. 67, agrees that it is from Hebrew but coming under the influence of *مَعْوَاة* (cf. Aram *ܡܥܘܢܐ*, Syr *ܡܥܘܢܐ*), developed the meaning of *benefit, help*.⁴

¹ West *Glossary* 222

² Fleischer *Kleinere Schriften* ii 128 ff. would have it a genuine Arabic word but as Noldeke says 'aus dem Arabischen lässt sie sich nicht erklären wie denn schon die Form auf ein Fremdwort deutet'.

³ So von Kremer *Ideen* 226. The word is used by al Aḥṣā and Horovitz *JPN*, 221 ff. thinks Muḥammad may have learned the word from this poet.

⁴ So Torrey *Foundation* 51.

مَالِك (Mālik)

xliii, 77

Mālik is the angel who has charge over Hell

The native authorities derived the name from مَلَكَ to possess, rule over This root may have influenced the form, but the source is doubtless the Biblical *Moloch* The Heb form is מלך, and it may possibly have come direct from Heb,¹ but the Syr مَلَاك (PSm, 1989) is much more likely

مَثَانِي (Mathānī)

xv, 87, xxxix, 24

The word evidently refers to Revelation, for xv, 87, reads "We have given thee the seven *Mathānī* and the wondrous Qur'ān," while in xxxix, 24, we read "God has sent down the best of accounts, in agreement with itself, a *Mathānī*, whereat the skins of those who fear their Lord do creep"

at Tabari's account makes it clear that the exegetes did not understand the meaning of the word All Muslim explanations go back to some development of the root ثَنَى, but their extreme artificiality creates a suspicion that the word is a borrowed technical term

Geiger, 58, thought that it was an attempt to reproduce the Hebrew מִשְׁנָה, the collection of oral Tradition which took its place with the Jews beside the Torah This explanation has been accepted by many later writers,² but how are we to explain the seven associated with the word? Sprenger, *Leben*, 1, 462 ff,³ thought that Muhammad was here referring to "die sieben Strafliegenden", which fits very well with the statement in xxxix, 24, but, as Horovitz, *KU*, 26 (cf *JPN*, 194, 195), points out, it rests on no basis of actual use of the word in any such sense Noldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, 26, makes an improvement on Geiger's theory by suggesting that the derivation was from Aram מְרִיתָא,⁴

¹ Tisdall *Sources* 123

² Cf von Kremer *Ideen* 226 300 Pautz, *Offenbarung* 87 n Mingana *Syriac Influence* 87

³ D H Muller in his *Propheten* 1 43 46 n 2 also propounds this theory and Rhodokanakis *WZKM* xxv 66 says that Muller arrived at the conclusion independently of Sprenger It has been accepted by Grimme *Mohammed*, 11, 77

⁴ Noldeke Schwally 1 114 Margoliouth *ERE*, x, 538

which has the same meaning as מִשְׁנֶה, but is much nearer the Arabic. The puzzle of what Muhammad meant by the *seven*, however, still remains ¹

مِثْقَالٌ (Mithqāl)

iv, 44, x, 62, xxi, 48, xxxi, 15, xxxiv, 3, 21, xcix, 7, 8

A measure of weight—a mithqāl

Naturally the Muslim authorities take it to be a form مِثْقَالٌ from ثَقَلَ to weigh (cf Baiḍ on iv, 44, and LA, xiii, 91), but as Fraenkel, *Fremdw*, 202, notes, the primitive meaning of ثَقَلَ is to be hard, and the word مِثْقَالٌ seems to be from Syr ܡܬܩܠܐ ², Aram ܡܬܩܠܐ, the equivalents of the Heb מִשְׁקָל ³. It occurs in the old poetry, however, and thus would have been an early borrowing

مَثَلٌ (Mathal)

Of frequent occurrence, cf ii, 210, iii, 113, vii, 175

Parable

The root is common Semitic, and genuine Arabic forms such as مِثْلٌ likeness, similitude, تَمَثَّلَ to seem like, etc, are used in the Qur'ān. The forms مَثَلٌ and its plu أَمْثَالٌ, however, where the meaning is that of the O T מִשַׁל or N T παραβολή, which the Peshitta renders by ܡܬܠܐ, would seem to have come under the influence of Syriac usage ⁴

Hirschfeld, *New Researches*, 83 ff, would trace the influence to Jewish sources, but Mingana, *Syriac Influence*, 85, is probably right in thinking that it was Christian Aramaic ⁵

¹ Casanova *Mohammed et la fin du monde* 37 thinks that in xv 87 it does not refer to the Qur'an, but means *benefits*, as though derived from ثَبَّى to double Mainz in *Der Islam* xxiii 300 suggests the Syriac root ܡܬܬܐܝܢܐ = satietas abundantia. See also Künstlinger in *OLZ* 1937 596 ff

² Whence also the Arm ܡܬܩܠܐ, though this may be a late borrowing from Arabic Cf Hübschmann *Arm Gramm*, i 271

³ Zimmern, *Akkad Fremdw* 23 suggests an ultimate Mesopotamian origin

⁴ Note al Khafaji, 192

⁵ On the whole question of the Qur'anic Mathal see Buhl in *Acta Or*, ii 1-11

المَحُوسُ (Al Maḥūs)

xxii, 17

The Magians, or Zoroastrians

They are mentioned in a late Madīnan verse along with Jews, Christians, and Sābians

The early authorities know that the sun worshippers are meant, and it was early recognized that it was a foreign word¹ Ibn Sida and

others derived the word from **کوش** and **قصير** said to mean **مح**

said to mean **الادن**, and tell us that it referred to a man **کوش**, so called because of the smallness of his ears, who was the first to preach the Magian faith² Others, however, knew that it was derived from the Iranian *Magush* (*LA*, viii, 99)

It is clearly the O Pers *Magush*,³ with the acc form of which, *magum*, we can compare the Av **magav** or **moγu**,⁴ and Phlv **mayōi**⁵ From Av **moγu** come the Arm

moγ,⁶ and Heb **מג**, as well as the Mod Pers **مع**⁷ In Phlv we also find a form **magōšrā**,⁸ derived directly from the O Pers, and this appears in the Aram **מגושא**, Gk **μάγος**,⁹ Syr **ܡܓܫܐ**, and the **מגוש** of the Aramaic of the Behistun inscription¹⁰

Lagarde, *GA*, 159, would derive **محوس** from the Gk **μάγος**, and

¹ al Jawalīqī *Muarrāb* 141 as Suyūṭī *Itq* 324 *Mutaw* 47 al Khafajī 182

² *TA* iv 245 *LA* viii 99

³ *Vide* Meillet *Grammaire Du Vieux Perse* p 148 and note Haug *Parsis* 169

⁴ Bartholomae *AIW* 1111 Horn *Grundriss*, 221 Frahang *Glossary* 94 Herzfeld *Parkuh* Glossary 213

⁵ West *Glossary* 223 *PPGI* 152 and **مغ** 160 Frahang *Glossary* 114 See also *ZDMG* xlv 671 for its occurrence on a Sasanian gem

⁶ Hubschmann *Arm Gramm* i 195

⁷ Vullers *Lex* ii 1197 *BQ* 863

⁸ *PPGI* 152 Frahang *Glossary* p 113 In the Assyrian transcription of the Behistun inscription it is written *magushu* Note also the *magustan* = priestly order *Parkuh* Glossary 214

⁹ There is an alternative theory that the Greek is a sing formed from *Mayoi*, the name of an ancient Median tribe but we find *Μαγουσαίοι* in Eusebius

¹⁰ Cowley *Aramaic Papyri*, p 254

though Vollers, *ZDMG*, l, 303, follows him in this there is little to be said in its favour. The word was well known in pre Islamic days and occurs in the old poetry,¹ and so may quite well have come direct from Middle Persian, though it is also a possibility that it may have come through the Syr ܡܕܝܢܐ²

مَدْيَن (Madyan)

vii, 83, ix, 71, xi, 85, 98, xx, 42, xxii, 43, xxviii, 21, 22, 45, xxix, 35

Midian

The references are all to the stories of Moses and Shu'aib, and the place is clearly the Biblical מִדְיָן, but derived through a Christian channel (Noldeke, *Ency Bibl*, iii, 3081)

Some of the early authorities endeavoured to derive it from مَدَن (LA, xvii, 289), but al Jawahiqī, *Mu'arrab*, 143, is inclined to take it as a foreign borrowing

The presumption is that it came to Arabic through the Syr ܡܕܝܢܐ

مَدِينَة (Madīna)

vii, 108, 120, ix, 102, 121, xii, 30, xv, 67, xviii, 18, 81, xxvi, 35, 53, xxvii, 49, xxviii, 14, 17, 19, xxxiii, 60, xxxvi, 19, lxiii, 8

A city

The popular derivation among the Lexicons is that it is a form مَعِيْلَة from مَدَن to settle, though others considered that it was from دَانَ to possess (LA, xvii, 288, 289). The great argument in favour of a derivation from مَدَن is the plu مَدُن beside مَدَائِن, for, said the philologists (cf Ibn Barī in LA), how could it have such a plu form if the ن were not part of the root?

¹ Vide Horovitz *KU* 137

² Mingana *Syriac Influence*, 95 Ahrens *Muhammad* 9

³ See the discussion in Horovitz *KU* 138 *JPN* 153 154 where he would draw a distinction between the Madyan of the early Sūras of the Qur'an where it means Midian, and the Madyan of later passages where it refers to the Arabian Madyan opposite the Sinai peninsula the *Modiava* of Ptolemy

The truth is that it is from a root related to دَانَ, but is not an Arabic formation at all, being like the Heb מְדִינָה, a borrowing from the Aram מְדִינָה, Syr ܡܕܝܢܐ¹ Aram ܡܕܢܐ means a *province* and then a *city*,² and Syr ܡܕܝܢܐ is *city*³ From Aram it was borrowed into Middle Persian where we find the ideogram 𐭌𐭎𐭕 *madīna*, meaning a large fortified city (*PPGI*, 150)

مَرْحَان (Marjān)

lv, 22, 58

Small pearls

The word occurs only in a description of Paradise, and was early recognized as borrowed from Persia,⁴ but it is certain that it did not come directly from Iranian into Arabic⁵

We find in Phlv 𐭌𐭎𐭕 *murvārūt*,⁶ a *pearl* used, e g in the *Gosht ī Fryānō*, II, 13, in describing the crowns presented to the daughters of Spitama after death From Middle Persian the word was borrowed widely, e g Gk μαργαρίτης⁷, Aram ܡܪܓܢܝܬܐ, Syr ܡܪܓܢܝܬܐ, and from some Aram form⁸ it came into Arabic It would have come at an early date for it is used in the old poetry and was doubtless well known in the pre Islamic period

مُرسى (Mursā)

xi, 43

Harbour, haven

¹ Fraenkel *Fremdw* 280 Horovitz *KU* 137

² It has this meaning in Arabic as early as the Nemara inscription cf *RES* I No 483

³ There is some discussion of the meaning of the word by Torrey in *JAOS* xliii 230 ff

⁴ al Jawaliqī *Mu arrab* 144 as Suyūṭī *Itq* 324 *Muht* sub voc and see Sachau's note to the *Mu arrab* p 65

⁵ In spite of Addai Sher 144 and his attempted derivation from اِنْ

⁶ West *Glossary* 213 *Šayast*, *Glossary* 163 cf Horn *Grundriss* 218 n

⁷ Also μαργαρίτης—ιδος from which comes the Arm ԹԻՂԱՐԻՆԻ and the European forms

⁸ Fraenkel *Fremdw* 59 The Mand ܡܪܓܢܝܬܐ would also seem to be from the same source vide Noldeke *Mundart* 53 Mingana *Syriac Influence*, 90 Vollers *ZDMG* I 611 li 303

With this meaning it is used only in the Noah story, though the same word occurs in vii, 186, lxxix, 42, meaning *fixed time*. In this latter sense it is obviously from رَسَا, and the philologists want to derive the مُرْسَى of xi, 43, from this same root ¹

It seems, however, that we have here a loan-word from Eth መርሐ a *haven* (Noldeke, *Neue Beirane* 61 Bell *Ormann* 29)

مَرْيَمَ (Maryam)

Occurs some thirty-four times, cf ii, 81

The name refers always to the mother of Jesus, though in xix, 29, iii, 31, lxvi, 12, she is confused with Miriam, the sister of Moses and Aaron (*infra*, p 217)

Some of the philologists took the name to be Arabic, a form مَعْل from رَام, meaning *to depart from a place* ² Some, however, noted it as a foreign word,³ and Baiḍ on iii, 31, goes as far as to say that it is Hebrew. Undoubtedly it does go back to the Heb מַרְיָם, but the vowelings of the Arabic مَرْيَمَ would point to its having come from a Christian source rather than directly from the Hebrew. The Gk Μαρίαμ, Syr مَرْيَمَ, Eth መርሐ are equally possible sources, but the probabilities are in favour of its having come from the Syriac ⁴

There seems no evidence for the occurrence of this form in pre Islamic times,⁵ though the form مَارِيَّة, the name of the Coptic slave girl sent from Egypt to Muhammad,⁶ is found in a verse of al-Hārith b Hilliza, iii, 10 (ed Krenkow, Beirut, 1922)

¹ There was some uncertainty over the reading in this passage, see Zam and Tab thereon and LA xix, 35-36

² Jawhārī sub voc, LA xv 152

³ al Jawālīqī *Mu arrab*, 140 TA, viii, 132 al Khafajī, 183

⁴ Mingana, *Syriac Influence*, 82

⁵ See the discussion in Horowitz *KU*, 138-140 JPN, 154

⁶ Ibn Hisham, 121 *Uṣd al Ghaba* v 543, 544 and see Caetani, *Annali*,

مِرَاح (Mizāḡ)

lxxvi, 5, 17, lxxxiii, 27

Tempering

Both passages refer to the tempering of the drink of the blessed in Paradise

The Muslim authorities take it from مِرَاح to *mix*, but Fraenkel, *Fremdwörter*, 172, points out that مِرَاح is not an Arabic formation, but is the Syr ܡܝܕܝܚܐ *potus mixtus*, which later became technically used for the eucharistic cup of mixed water and wine. In fact the Syr ܡܝܕܝܚܐ (cf. Heb מִזְגֵּג, Aram ܡܝܕܝܚܐ), while used for mixing in general, became specialized for the mixing of drinks. There can thus be little doubt that it was borrowed in pre-Islamic times as a drinking term¹. See also under ܐܡܫܚܐ (*infra*, p. 70)

مَسْجِد (Masjd)

Occurs some twenty-eight times, e.g. ii, 139, 144, 145, 187, 192, etc.
A place of worship

As we have already seen (*infra*, p. 163), the verb ܣܠܚܐ in the technical sense of *worship* has been influenced by Aramaic usage. The form ܡܫܝܚܐ seems not to have been a formation from this in Arabic, but to have been an independent borrowing from the North.

Noldeke, *ERE*, i, 666, 667, has drawn attention to this fact of the Aramaic origin of the word. In the Nabataean inscriptions we find ܡܫܝܚܐ not infrequently meaning "place of worship",² as for example in an inscription from Bosra (de Vogue), p. 106³: ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܝܥܒܕ ܬܝܡܘ ܒܪ ܐܠܝܐܠ ܒܥܠ "This is the place of worship which Taimu, son of Walid el Ba'al built". The Syr ܡܫܝܚܐ, however, seems to be a late borrowing from the Arabic, but we find ܡܫܝܚܐ in the Elephantine papyri⁴.

¹ Horowitz *Paradies* 11. Geyer *Zwei Gedichte*, i, 87 ff. Zimmern *Akkad Fremdw* 40.

² Cook *Glossary* 75. Duval in *JA* viii^c Ser. vol. xv, 482.

³ *ZDMG* xxii, 263.

⁴ Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, p. 148.

In the Qur'ān it is used of the fane at Qubā' (ix, 109), of the Temple at Jerusalem (xvii, 1), of the Church built over the Seven Sleepers (xviii, 20), and other places of worship, so that it is clear that for Muhammad it meant any place of worship. In the same general sense it is used in the pre Islamic poetry,¹ and so must have come at an early date from the more settled communities in the North.²

مِسْك (Misk)

lxxxiii, 26

Musk

This sole occurrence is in an early Meccan description of Paradise.

The word was widely used among the Arabs in the pre Islamic period³ and was quite commonly recognized as a loan word from the Persian.⁴ ✓

The Phlv 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩 *mushk*⁵ seems to have come ultimately from the Skt सुषक,⁶ but it was from the Iranian, not the Indian form, that were borrowed the Arm 𐭪𐭮𐭫𐭪⁷, Gk μόσχος. Aram Syr ܡܫܟܬܐ, Eth 𐩢𐩨𐩨 It is more likely to have come direct from Middle Persian into Arabic⁸ than through the Syriac, as Mingana, *Syriac Influence*, 88, claims.

مِسْكِين (Miskīn)

Of very frequent occurrence, e g ii 77, 172, ix, 60

Poor

Note therefrom the formation مَسْكَةٌ *poverty, indigence*, ii, 58, iii, 108

Fraenkel, *Vocab*, 24, pointed out that the Arabic word is from the Syr ܡܫܟܬܐ, though this comes itself ultimately from Akkadian. The *muškēnu* of the Cuneiform inscriptions was interpreted by Littmann

¹ Horovitz *KU* 140

² Schwally *ZDMG* lii 134 Lammens, *Sanctuaires* passim Von Kremer *Streifzüge* ix n

³ Siddiqi *Studien* 85 Geyer *Zwei Gedichte* i 90 ff i 79

⁴ al Jawahiri *Mu arrab* 143 ath Tha alibi *Fiqh* 318 as Suvuti *Itq* 324 *Muzhir* i, 136 al Khafaji 182 *LA* xii 376

⁵ Justi *Glossary to the Bundahesh* p 241

⁶ Vullers, *Jex* ii 1185

⁷ Hubschmann *Arm Gramm* i 196

⁸ Vullers *ZDMG* i 649 652

in *ZA*, xvii, 262 ff, as *leper*, but Combe, *Babyloniaca*, iii, 73, 74, showed that it meant the humble classes,¹ and so *poor*. It passed into Heb as מִסְכִּין, מִסְכִּין meaning *poor*, and into Aram מִסְכִּינָא, Syr ܡܫܟܝܢܐ with the same meaning, and it was from Aram that the Ar ܡܫܟܝܢ and Eth 𐩢𐩣𐩬𐩨𐩪𐩥 were derived.²

مَسِيح (Masih)

iii, 40, iv, 156, 169, 170, v, 19, 76, 79, ix, 30, 31

Messiah (o Μεσσίας)

It is used only as a title of Jesus, and only in late passages when Muhammad's knowledge of the teachings of the People of the Book is much advanced.

The Muslim authorities usually take it as an Arabic word from

مَسَح to wipe (Tab on iii, 20). Others said it was from مَسَح to smear

or anoint (Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 484), others derived it from سَاح to travel (*LA*, iii, 431), and some, like Zam and Baiḍ, rejected these theories and admitted that it was a borrowed word.

Those Muslim philologists who noted it as foreign, claimed that it was Hebrew, and this has been accepted by many Western scholars,³ though such a derivation is extremely unlikely. Hirschfeld, *Beiträge*, 89, would derive it from Aram מְשִׁיחָא, which is possible, though as it is used in early Arabic particularly with regard to Jesus, we are safer in holding with Fraenkel, *Vocab*, 24,⁴ that it is from Syr ܡܫܝܚܐ especially as this is the source of the Arm 𐭬𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥, Eth 𐩢𐩣𐩬𐩨𐩪𐩥,⁵ the Manichaean *mšīḫa* of the "kopturkisch" fragments⁷, the Pazend

¹ Johns *Schweich Lectures* 1912 p 8 would derive it from *kanu* to bow down so that originally it would mean *suppliant*. See however Zimmern *Akkad Fremdw* 47.

² Noldeke *Neue Beiträge* 45. Note also the Phon מִסְכִּין (Harris *Glossary* 120).

³ Sayous *Jesus Christ d'après Mahomet* (Paris 1880) p 21. Pautz *Offenbarung* 193 n 3.

⁴ So Lagarde *Übersicht* 94. Margoliouth *Chrestomathia Bardawiana* 163. Cheikho *Nasraniya* 186. Mingana *Syriac Influence* 85.

⁵ This however may be direct from the Greek cf Hübschmann *Arm Gramm* 1 364.

⁶ Noldeke *Neue Beiträge* 34.

⁷ Le Coq in *SBAW* Berlin 1909 p 1204. Salemann *Manichaäische Studien* 1, 97.

mashydê, Phlv 𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥 (Shikand, *Glossary*, 258), and the Manichaean Soghdian *mšyh'* (Henning, *Manchärsches Berchibuch*, 142)

The word was well known in both N and S Arabia in pre-Islamic times ¹

مشكاة (*Mishkāt*)

xxiv, 35

A niche in a wall

The word was early recognized as foreign (Siddiqī, 13) as Suyūṭī, *Itq*, 324, gives it as Abyssinian on the authority of Mujāhid,² and al Jawālīqī, *Mu'arrab*, 135,³ and al Kindī, *Risāla*, 85, both know that it is an Abyssinian borrowing. Some, of course, sought to interpret it as an Arabic word from شكا (*LA*, xix, 171, quoting Ibn Jinnī), but their difficulties with the word make it obvious that it is a loan word.

The philologists were correct in their ascription of its origin, for it is the Eth 𐩦𐩣𐩨𐩢 (𐩦𐩣𐩨𐩢), which is an early word formed from 𐩦𐩣𐩨 (cf. 𐩦𐩣𐩨, 𐩦𐩣𐩨), and quite commonly used ⁴

مِصْرُ (*Misr*)

ii, 58, x, 87, xii, 21, 100, xliii, 50

Egypt

It occurs only in connection with the stories of Moses and Joseph.

The fact that it is treated as a diptote in the Qur'an would seem to indicate that it was a foreign name, and this was recognized by some of the exegetes, as we learn from Baiḍ on ii, 58, who derives it from

مِصْرَايִם, which obviously is intended to represent the Heb

The Eth 𐩦𐩣𐩨𐩢 = Minaean 𐩦𐩣𐩨𐩢 ⁵ is the only form without the final ending, and so S Arabia was doubtless the source of the Qur'anic form (but see Zimmern, *Akkad Fremdu*, 91)

¹ Horovitz *KU* 129 130 Ryckmans, *Noms propres* i 19 Rossini *Glossarium* 179

² See also *Mutaw* 41 *Muzhir* i 130 for other authorities

³ Who quotes from Ibn Qutaiba *vide Adab al Katib*, p 527 and al Anbarī *Kitāb al Aḍḍad* p 272

⁴ Noldeke *Neue Beiträge* 51 Vollers *ZDMG* li 293

⁵ *Vide* Ryckmans *Noms propres* i 348 Rossini *Glossarium*, 180

مُصَوِّرٌ (Musawwir)

lix, 24

One who fashions

It is one of the names of God, and its form is undoubtedly Arabic ✓ Lidzbarski, *SBAW*, Berlin, 1916, p 1218, however, claims that in this technical sense it is a formation from the borrowed Aram' צִוֵּר,¹ which frequently occurs in the Rabbinic writings as a name of God, and is also found in the Palm inscriptions in the combination עֲבַד צִוֵּר (Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, II, 269)

مَعِينٌ (Ma'in)

xxiii, 52, xxxvii, 44, lvi, 18, lxvii, 30

A fountain, or clear flowing water

It occurs only in early and middle Meccan passages

The philologists were uncertain whether it was a form فَعِيل from

مَعَى to flow, or connected with مَاعُون, or from عَان, so called because of its clearness—cf Zam on xxiii, 52, and *LA*, xvii, 179, 298

The word مَعِين, for a spring of water, is of course common Semitic, ✓ but Fraenkel, *Fremdw*, 281, noted that the Qur'ānic مَعِين is the Heb' מַעֵין, Syr' مَعِين = πηγῆ, commonly used for *spring* or a *bubbling fountain*. From one of these sources, probably from the Syriac, it came into Arabic

مِقْلَادٌ (Miqlād)

xxxix, 63, xlii, 10

Key

Only in the plural form مَقَالِد in the phrase “His are the keys of heaven and earth”, where the use of مَعَاتِج in the similar phrase in vi, 59, proves that it means *keys*, though in these two passages many of the Commentators want it to mean حُرَاقِ storehouses²

¹ Vide also Hirschfeld *Beutrage* 87

² Raghib *Mufradat* 422 and Baiḍ on vi 59

It was early recognized as a foreign word, and said by the philologists to be of Persian[✓] origin ¹ The Pers **کلید** to which they refer it is itself a borrowing from the Gk *κλείς, κλειδα* (Vullers, *Lex*, II, 876), which was also borrowed into Aram **אקלִידא**, Syr **ܟܠܝܕܐ**, **ܟܠܝܕܐ** or **ܟܠܝܕܐ**. In spite of Dvořák's vigorous defence of the theory that it passed directly from Persian into Arabic,² we are fairly safe in concluding that the Ar **أقليد** is from the Syr **ܟܠܝܕܐ**,³ and the form **مقلاد** formed therefrom on the analogy of **مفتاح**, etc ⁴

ملة (Milla)

II, 114, 124, 129, III, 89, IV, 124, VI, 162, VII, 86, 87, XII, 37, 38, XIV, 16, XVI, 124, XVIII, 19, XXII, 77, XXXVIII, 6

Religion, sect

It is most commonly found in the phrase **ملة ابراهيم**, but is used for the faith of Jews and Christians (e g II, 114), and for the old heathen beliefs (e g XII, 37, XIV, 16) ⁵ The Muslim authorities take it as an Arabic word but have some difficulty in explaining it ⁶

It has long been recognized as one of those religious terms for which Muhammad was indebted to the older religions Sprenger held that it was an Aramaic word which the Jews brought with them to the Hijāz, and Hirschfeld, *Beiträge*, 44, agrees,⁷ as does Torrey, *Foundation*, 48 The Aram **ܡܠܐ**, like the late Heb **מלה**, means *word*, but could be used figuratively for the religious beliefs of a person The Syr **ܡܠܐ**, however, is a more likely source, for besides meaning *word*,

¹ al Jawahiqi *Mu arrab* 139 as Suyuṭī *Itq* 324 *Mutaw* 46 al Khafajī 181

² *Fremdw* 79 ff *Muht* sub voc wants to derive it directly from Greek

³ Fraenkel *Fremdw* 15 16 Minṣana *Syriac Influence* 88

⁴ Fraenkel *Fremdw* 16 thinks that a form with **م** may have been known in the Aramaic from which the Arabic word was borrowed

⁵ Raghib *Mufradat* 488 says that **ملة** can only be used for a religion that was proclaimed by a Prophet Cf *LA* XIV 154

⁶ See Sprenger *Leben* II 276 n

⁷ In his *New Researches* 16 Hirschfeld suggests that in Muhammad's mind **ملة** = **מלה** may have been somewhat confused with **מילה** *circumcision* so that **מלה** representing the doctrine of Abraham and **מילה** representing the outward sign of the Abrahamic covenant being confused together produced **ملة** as the **دس** of Abraham This seems however a little far fetched

ρῆμα, it is also used to translate λόγος, and is used technically for religion ¹ It is possible, as Horovitz, *KU*, 62, 63, suggests, that the meaning was also influenced by the sense of *way*, which may be derived from the Arabic root itself (cf Ahrens, *Christliches*, 33)

There seems to be no evidence for the use of ^{مَلَكَة} in its Qur'ānic sense in the pre Islamic period,² so it may have been a borrowing of Muhammad himself, but doubtless was intelligible to his audiences who were more or less acquainted with Jews and Christians

مَلَك (Malak)

Of very frequent occurrence Cf 11, 28

Angel

It also occurs in the form مَلَكَ, with the plu مَلَائِكَة

The Muslim authorities are unanimous in taking it as Arabic, though they dispute among themselves whether it should be derived from مَلَك or أَلَك (Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 19, 490, *LA*, xii, 274, and Tab on 11, 28)

There can be little doubt, however that the source of the word is the Eth ሙልክ with its characteristic plu ሙልክቲ,³ which is the common Eth word for ἄγγελος, whether in the sense of *angelus* or *nuntius*, and thus corresponds exactly with Heb מַלְאָךְ, Phon מִלְאָךְ, Syr ܡܠܬܐ ⁴ It is very possible, however, that Jewish influences also have been at work on the word, for Hirschfeld, *Beitrage*,

46, points out the close correspondence of such phrases as ت

(xxxii, 11) with מַלְאָךְ הַמּוֹת,⁵ and ملك الملك (iii, 25) with מַלְכָּא מַלְךְ מַלְכֵּי The word would seem to have been borrowed

¹ Noldeke *Neue Beitrage* 25 26 *Sketches* 38 V ollers *ZDMG* li 293 325 Noldeke Schwally i 20 146

² Noldeke Schwally i 146 n but see Horovitz *KU* 62

³ Noldeke *Neue Beitrage* 34 Hirschfeld *Beitrage* 45 Bell *Origin* 52 Dvořák *Fremdw* 64 Rhodokanakis *WZKM* xxv 71 Ahrens *Muhammad* 92 Pautz *Offenbarung* 69 but see Bittner *WZKM* xv 395

⁴ Mingana *Syriac Influence* 85 would derive the Arabic from this Syriac form cf also Fischer *Glossar* 118

⁵ So Geiger 60 but we find this also in Eth cf ሙልክ : ሞት

into Arabic long before the time of Muhammad, for the Qur'ān assumes that Arabian audiences are well acquainted with angels and their powers,¹ and the form, indeed, occurs in the N Arabian inscriptions²

مَلِكٌ (Malik)

xii, 72, 76, etc

A king

With this must be taken مَالِكٌ in the sense of *Lord*, مَلِيكٌ a *monarch* (liv, 55), and مُلْكٌ *dominion, kingdom*

The primitive root مَلَكَ to possess, with its derivatives, is common Semitic, and the Muslim savants naturally take the sense of *king, kingdom*, etc, to be derived from this

Zimmern, *Akkad Fremdw*, 7, however, has pointed out that this technical sense of *kingship* first developed in Akkadian, and then was taken over into the Hebrew, Phœnician, and Aramaic dialects, and also into S Semitic in the Sab 𐩦𐩣𐩪 and Ar مَلِكٌ. It may also have been from Mesopotamia that it passed into Middle Persian as مَلُود (Frahang, *Glossary*, 116, Herzfeld, *Parkuh*, *Glossary*, 216)

مَلَكُوتٌ (Malakūt)

vi, 75, vii, 184, xxiii, 90, xxxvi, 83

Kingdom, dominion

The usual theory of the Muslim philologists is that it is an Arabic word from the root مَلَكَ to possess, though they are a little hazy as to the explanation of the final ت³. Some of them, as we learn from as-Suyūṭī, *Itq*, 324, recognized that it was foreign and derived it from Nabataean 𐤌𐤁𐤕𐤃

The 𐤌𐤁𐤕 ending is almost conclusive evidence of its being from

¹ Sprenger *Leben* ii 18 Eickmann *Angelologie* 12 Bell *Origin* 52

² Huber, *Journal d'un Voyage en Arabie* Paris 1891 No 89 i 13

³ Raghīb, *Mufradāt* 489 It is noteworthy that there was a variant reading مَلُود

Aramaic¹ Geiger, 60, and Tisdall, *Sources*, 126,² would take it from Heb מַלְכוּת, which is commonly used in the Rabbinic writings, but the Aram מַלְכוּתָא, Syr ܡܠܟܘܬܐ are more likely, as Fraenkel, *Vocab*, 22, noted,³ since these have the double sense of βασιλεία and ηγεμονία precisely as in the Qur'ān, and moreover an Aramaic form was the source of both the Eth 𐩦𐩣𐩬𐩨𐩢 (Noldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, 33) and the Phlv ideogram 𐤌𐤊𐤏𐤤𐤁𐤀 malkōtā (*PPGL*, 153, Frahang, *Glossary*, p 116)

Mingana, *Syriac Influence*, 85, would specify a Syriac origin for the word, but it is impossible to decide, though in some respects the Aramaic מַלְכוּתָא seems to offer closer parallels than the Syr ܡܠܟܘܬܐ Ahrens, *Muhammad*, 78, points out that Muhammad had not grasped the idea of the βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, and treats the word as meaning rather "Herrschaft über den Himmel", i e somewhat in the sense of مَلِك⁴

مَنَّ (Manna)

ii, 54, vii, 160, xx, 82

Manna

The Commentators have little idea what is meant They identify it with ترْحِين, the Persian manna, or صِغ, a gum found on trees whose taste is like honey, or الخبز الرقاق thin bread, or عسل honey, or شراب a syrup, etc As a rule they take it to be derived from مَنَّ to benefit, and say that it was so called because it was sent as provision to the Children of Israel (*LA*, xvii, 306)

The word is used only in connection with the quails, so there can be no doubt that the word came to Muhammad along with سَلَوِي when he learned the Biblical story The Hebrew word is מַן which is the source of the Gk μάννα and Syr ܡܢ The Christian forms are

¹ Geiger 44 Sprenger *Ieben* ii 257 n

² So von Kremer *Ideen* 226 Sacco *Credenze* 51

³ Dvořák *Fremdw* 31 Massignon *Lexique technique* 52 Horovitz *JPN* 222

⁴ Cf the מַלְכוּתָא of the incantation texts Montgomery *Aramaic Incantation Texts* Glossary p 294

obviously much nearer to the Arabic than the Hebrew, and as we have already seen that the probabilities are that **سَلَوَى** came from the Syriac, we may conclude that **مَنْ** is from the same source,¹ especially as the Syriac is the source of the Arm **մանանայ**²

Apparently there is no evidence of pre Islamic use of the word,³ though the story may well have been familiar to Muhammad's audience

مُؤَفِّقُونَ (*Munāfiqūn*)

Occurs some thirty three times in both masc and fem forms
Hypocrites

Naturally the Lexicons seek to derive it from **هَق** with the meaning of **هَد**, so that the *Munāfiqūn* are those who have departed from the law (Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 522)

The word, however, has long been recognized as a borrowing from Ethiopic⁴ The form **ፍፈቀ** (**ገፈቀ**) has the meaning *hypocritam agere*, which **هَق** has not originally in Arabic, such a form as **هَاق**, e g in

هَاقَ فِي الدِّينِ, being late, if not as Noldeke, *Neue Beitrage*, 48, thinks, a direct borrowing from **ፍፈቀ** The form **መፍፍቅ** = *αἰρετικός* is of frequent occurrence in the *Didascalia*,⁵ and is clearly the source of

مُؤَفِّق, which possibly was borrowed by Muhammad himself, as there appears no trace of the word in this technical sense in the early literature⁶

¹ Fraenkel *Vocab* 21 Mingana *Syriac Influence* 86 Horovitz *KU* 17 *JPN* 222

² Hubschmann *Arm Gramm* 1 310

³ The Commentaries and Lexicons quote a verse from Al A sha but as Lyall remarks in his notes to the *Mufaḍḍaliyat* p 709 it does not occur in the poem as quoted by at-Ṭabarī *Annales* 1 987 ff nor in the *Diwan* and so is rightly judged by Horovitz, op cit, as an interpolation based on the Qur'an

⁴ Wellhausen *Reste* 232, Noldeke, *Neue Beitrage* 48 49 Ahrens *Muhammad* 165

⁵ Dillmann, *Lex*, 712

⁶ Noldeke Schwally, 1 88 n 5, Ahrens *Christliches* 41

مَنْفُوش (Manfūsh)

ci, 4

Teased or carded (as wool)

Zimmern, *Akkad Fremdw*, 28, takes the Akk [√]napāšu, to card or tease wool, as the origin of the Aram [√]נפס, to tease wool, from which came the Ar شش Cf also Haupt, in *Beit Ass*, v, 471, n

مِنْهَاج (Minhāj)

v, 52

Pathway

Only in a late Madinan verse where the reference is to a "rule of faith" and a "way of life", as was clearly seen by the Commentators

The philologists naturally took it to be a normal formation from

هَج, and this is possible, but Hirschfeld, *Beitrage*, 89, has pointed out (cf also Horovitz, *JPN*, 225), that in its technical religious sense it corresponds precisely with the Rabbinic מנהג used for religious custom or way of life, and suggests that as used in the Qur'ān, it is a borrowing from the Jews [√]Schwally, *ZDMG*, lxx, 197-8, agrees, and we may admit that there seems at least to be Jewish influence on the use of the word

مُهَيِّم (Muhaḥim)

v, 52, lxx, 23

That which preserves anything safe

In v, 52, it is used of that which preserves Scripture safe from alteration, and in lxx, 23, as a title of Allah, the Preserver There is

a variant reading مَهِيْم in both passages

The philologists take it as genuine Arabic, but as Noldeke, *Neue Beitrage*, 27, points out, we can hardly get the meaning we want from

the verb هَمى Fraenkel, *Vocab*, 23, noted that it was a borrowing from the Aram [√]מדימנא or Syr [√]ܡܕܝܡܢܐ¹ It is difficult to

¹ So Noldeke *Neue Beitrage* 27 Hirschfeld *Beitrage* 87 Horovitz *JPN* 225

decide whether it came from Jewish or Christian sources, but the parallels with Syriac are closer ¹

مَوَاحِرَ (Mawāḥir)

xvi, 14, xxxv, 13

Plu of مَاحِرَةٌ, that which ploughs the waves with a clashing noise, i e a ship

Zimmern, *Akkad Fremdw*, 45, suggests that it was derived from Akk [✓]elhippu māḥirtu, a ship making its way out into a storm. If this is so it would have been an early borrowing direct from Mesopotamia

مُؤْتَفِكَةٌ (Mu'tafika)

ix, 71, liii, 54, lxix, 9

That which is overthrown or turned upside down

All three passages refer to the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah

The Muslim authorities take it from أَوَكَ as we see from Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 18, and the word certainly is Arabic in its form. Sprenger, *Leben*, i, 492, however, claimed that this particular formation is due to the Rabbinic מִתְפַּקֵּה used in the story of Sodom and Gomorrah. This theory is a little difficult, but has been accepted by Hirschfeld, *Beiträge*, 37, and Horovitz, *KU*, 13, 14, *JPN*, 187, and Ahrens, *Christliches*, 41, agree

مُوسَى (Mūsā)

Of very frequent occurrence, e g ii, 51, 57, xi, 20

Moses

It was very commonly recognized as a foreign name,² the usual theory being that it was from an original form מוֹשֶׁה, which some say

¹ So Nöldeke op cit and Mingana *Syriac Influence* 88

² al Jawahiqi, *Mu arrab* 135 al Khafaji 182 Bagh on ii 48, and even Rāghib *Mufradāt*, 484

means *water* and *trees* in Hebrew,¹ and others in Coptic,² this name being given to Moses because of the place from which he was taken.

It is possible that the name came direct from the Heb מֹשֶׁה, or as Derenbourg in *REJ*, xviii, 127, suggests, through a form מוֹסִי used among the Arabian Jews. It is much more likely, however, that it came to the Arabs through the Syr موصى³ or the Eth ሙሴ, especially as it was from the Syr that the Pazend *Mushâê*, Phlv 𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥 and Arm ԽԵԼԵ were borrowed.

There appears to be no well attested example of the use of the word earlier than the Qur'ân,⁴ so that it may have been an importation of Muhammad himself, though doubtless well enough known to his audience from their contacts with Jews and Christians.

مِيكَال (Mikāl)

ii, 92

Michael

As an angel he is mentioned with Gabriel in a passage where the Commentators claim that the two are contrasted, Gabriel as the opponent of the Jews and Michael as their protector. He thus occupies in the Qur'ân the place given him in Dan x, 13, 21, etc., as the Patron of Israel.

The early authorities were a little uncertain as to the spelling of the word, and al-Jawālīqī, 143, notes the forms

مِيكَال, مِيكَئِل, and مِيكَئِل. This would suggest that it was a foreign word, and it is given as such by Ibn Qutaiba, *Adab al Kātib*, 78, and al-Jawālīqī, op cit.

The word may have come directly from מִיכָאֵל, or more likely from the Syr موصى or موصى, as it was from Syriac that the form

¹ Raghib gives the form as موصى

² So Tab on ii 48 ath Tha labī Qisāṣ 118 who tell us that in Coptic *mu* means *water* and *sha* means *trees*. This obviously rests on the Jewish theory given in Josephus *Antiq* ii ix 6 το γαρ υδωρ μω οι Αιγυπτιοι καλοουσιν υσης δε τους εξ υδατος σωθεντας which fairly well represents the Coptic 𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥 *water* and 𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥 *rescued*.

³ Cf the form מוֹסִי on a Christian incantation bowl from Nippur (Montgomery *Aramaic Incantation Texts* p 231)

⁴ So Horovitz *KU* 143 *JPN* 156

in the Persian Manichaean fragments from Turfan was derived ¹ It is difficult to say how well the name was known in pre Islamic times ²

نَبِيّ (Nabīy)

Of very frequent occurrence, e g II, 247, III, 61, VIII, 65

Prophet

Usually the word is taken to be from نَمَّأ to bring news (as Sijistāni, 312), though some thought it was from a meaning of that root to be high ³

Fraenkel, *Vocab*, 20, pointed out that the plu نَبِيّون, beside the more usual نَبِيَاء, would suggest that the word was a foreign borrowing and that it was taken from the older religions has been generally accepted by modern scholarship ⁴ Sprenger, *Leben*, II, 251, would derive it from the Heb נָבִיא, and this view has commended itself to many scholars ⁵ There are serious objections to it, however, on the ground of form, and as Wright has pointed out, ⁶ it is the Aram נְבִיאָ, which by the dropping of the sign for emphatic state, gives us the form we need Thus there can be little doubt that نَبِي, like Eth ܢܒܝܐ (Noldeke, *Neue Beilage*, 34), is from the Aram ⁷ and probably from Jewish Aram rather than from Syr نَبِي It was seemingly known to the Arabs long before Muhammad's day, ⁸ and occurs, probably of Mani himself, in the Manichaean fragments (Salemman, *Manichaersche Studien*, I, 97)

¹ Muller in *SBAW* Berlin 1904 p 351 Salemman *Manichaersche Studien* I 95

² Cf Horovitz *KU* 143 and Rhodokanakis *WZKM* XVII 282

³ Ibn Duraid *Ishṭiqāq* 273 and see Fraenkel *Fremdw* 232 n

⁴ Margoliouth *Schweich Lectures* 22 however thinks that the Hebrew is to be explained from the Arabic and Casanova *Mohammed et la Fin du Monde* 39 n argues that نَبِي is a proper derivation from ل which is absurd though Fischer *Glossar* 131 thinks that this root had an influence on the word So Ahrens *Muhammad* 128

⁵ Von Kremer *Ideen* 224 Hirschfeld *Beilage* 42 Rudolph *Abhangigkeit* 45 Grimme *Mohammed* II 75 n 2 Sacco *Credenze* 116

⁶ *Comparative Grammar* 46

⁷ So Guidi *Della Sede* 599 Horovitz *KU* 47 *JPN* 223 seems doubtful whether Heb or Aram

⁸ Hirschfeld *Beilage* 42

نُبُوَّة (Nabūwwa)

iii, 73, vi, 89, xxix, 26, xlv, 15, lvii, 26

Prophecy

The word occurs only in late Meccan passages (but see Ahrens, *Christliches*, 34), and always in connection with the mention of the previous Scriptures with which the Arabs were acquainted. It is thus clearly a technical word, and though it may be a genuine develop-

ment from نَبِي, there is some suspicion that it is a direct borrowing from the Jews. ✓

In late Heb נְבוּאָה is used for *prophecy* (cf Neh vi, 12, and 2 Chron xv, 8), and in one interesting passage (2 Chron ix, 29) it means a prophetic document. In Jewish Aram נְבוּאָתָא also means *prophecy*, but apparently does not have the meaning of "prophetic document",¹ nor is the Syr ܢܒܘܬܐ so near to the Arabic as the Hebrew, which would seem to leave us with the conclusion that it was the Hebrew word which gave rise to the Arabic, or at least influenced the development of the form (Horovitz, *JPN*, 224).

نُحَاس (Nuhās)

lv, 35

Brass

We find the word only in an early Meccan Sūra in a description of future punishment.

There was considerable uncertainty as to the reading of the word, for we find different authorities supporting نحاس, نحس, and نحس, and even those who accepted the usual نُحَاس were not certain whether it meant *smoke* or *brass*. The philologists also had some difficulty in finding a derivation for the word, and we learn from *LA*, viii, 112, that Ibn Duraid said, "it is genuinely Arabic but I know not its root."

¹ Horovitz *KU* 73 says it does and refers to Bacher's *Die exegetische Terminologie der jüdischen Traditionsliteratur* ii 123 but Bacher gives this meaning of prophetischer Abschnitt only for נְבוּאָה and does not quote any example of it for נְבוּאָתָא.

² Vide Zam on the passage.

It is, as Fraenkel, *Fremdw*, 152, pointed out, a borrowing, and means *brass*. In Heb נחשת and נחשֶׁת occur not infrequently meaning *copper* or *bronze*, and נחשת with a similar meaning occurs in the Phon inscriptions¹. So the Aram נחשת of the Targums², Syr ܢܚܫܬܐ, and Palmy נחשא³ are commonly used, and likewise the Eth ነሐስ *aes, cuprum*, which one would judge from Dillmann, *Lex*, 633, to be a late word, but which occurs in the old Eth inscriptions⁴. It is possible also that the old Egyptian *thst* (for *copper*),⁵ which is apparently a loan word in Egyptian, may be of the same origin.

Apparently the word has no origin in Semitic,⁶ and so one may judge that it is a borrowing from the pre-Semitic stratum of language. The Arabic word may thus have come directly from this source, but in view of the difficulties the philologists had with the word, we should judge that it was rather a borrowing from the Aramaic.

نذر (Nadhr)

ii, 273, lxvi, 7, plu نذرو xxii, 30

A vow

With this is to be taken the denominative verb نذر ii, 273, iii, 31, xix, 27.

This group of words has nothing to do with the forms of نذر to warn, so commonly used in the Qur'an, and which are genuine Arabic.

In the sense of *vow* it is a borrowing from the Judæo-Christian circle⁷, cf Heb נדר, Phon נדר, Syr ܢܕܪ, all from a root נדר which is a parallel form to נזר, to *dedicate, consecrate* (cf Akk *nazāru, curse*), and Sab ܢܕܪ (Hommel, *Sudarab Chrest*, 128)⁸. It must have been an early borrowing.

¹ Lidzbarski *Handbuch* 322 Harris *Glossary* 123

² And the ܢܚܫܬܐ of the Elephantine papyri (Cowley *Aramaic Papyri* p 299)

³ Cf de Vogüé *Inscriptions* No xi, l 4 and in the Fiscal inscription ZDMG xlii 383 of also ܢܚܫܬܐ in the Nērab inscription in Lidzbarski *Handbuch* 445

D H Müller *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Abessinien* 1894 p 52

W M Müller *Asien und Europa* 1893 p 127 See Erman Grapow v 396

⁶ Levy, *Wörterbuch* iii 374 suggests a derivation from نذر to be hard but this is hardly likely

⁷ Ahrens, *Christliches* 34

⁸ See also Rosin, *Glossarium* 184

نُسْخَة (Nuskha)

vii, 153

A copy, or exemplar

The word occurs only in a late Sūra in reference to the Tables of Stone given to Moses, but the verb formed from it—استنسخ, is used in an earlier passage, xlv, 28, though again the reference is to a heavenly book

The Muslim authorities take the word as a form فُعْلَة with the meaning of مفعولة from نسخ in the sense *to copy*, and some (cf *LA*, iv, 28) would make *copy* the primitive meaning of the root. A comparison with the cognate languages, however, shows that *copy* is a secondary meaning of the root, cf Akk *nushu* = *extract*, and Syr ܢܚܫܐ *to copy*, beside Akk *nasāhu*, Heb נָסַח, O Aram ܢܫܚ and the Targumic נִסַּח, where the original sense is clearly *to remove, tear away (evellere)*, which original meaning is found in the Qur'ān in ii, 100, xxii, 51, where the word is used, as Hirschfeld, *Beitrage*, 36, points out, precisely as נִסַּח is in Deut xxviii, 63, Ezr vi, 11

Hoffmann, *ZDMG*, xxxii, 760, suggested that the Arabic word was from Aram ܢܫܚܐ, but this is used only in late Rabbinic writings and gained the technical sense of "variant reading", e.g. ܢܫܚܐ ܐܚܪܝܢܐ. Again in Syr the only form is ܢܫܚܐ, which is also late (*Psm*, 2400), and as Lagarde, *GA*, 196, points out,¹ comes from the Iranian, where Phlv 𐬨𐬀𐬯𐬭𐬀, *nask* ², Av 𐬨𐬀𐬯𐬭𐬀 *naska* means a book of the Avesta. The Iranian word however, as Spiegel showed in his *Studien über das Zendavesta*,³ cannot be explained from Indo European material, and like the Arm նիշ ⁴ is in all probability an ancient borrowing from some Semitic source in Mesopotamia ✓

It is, of course, possible that it came to Arabic also from Mesopotamia, but we find נִסַּח in a Nabataean inscription from

¹ Also Vollers *ZDMG* i 649

² *PPGI* 165 166 Šayas *Glossary* 163 West *Glossary* 243 Haug *Parsis* 181

³ *ZDMG* ix 191 and *JA* for 1846

⁴ Hübschmann *Arm Gramm* i 204, however compares նիշ with the Syr ܢܫܚܐ though deriving both from an Iranian original. See Lagarde *GA* 66 and Zimmern *Akkad Fremdw* 13 who relates it to the Akk *nāšu*. Arm նուշխայ however is a late borrowing from Arabic see *ZDMG* xlvii 264

N Arabia of A D 31,¹ where it has precisely this meaning of *copy* which we find for the Akk *nushu*, and it was doubtless from this technical use of the word in N Arabia that the word came into use in Arabic (Zimmern, *Akkad Fremdw*, 29)

نَصَارَى (Nasārā)

ii, 59, 105, 107, 114, 129, 134, iii, 60, v, 17, 21, 56, 73, 85, ix, 30, xxii, 17

Christians

This name occurs only in Madīnan passages, and except for iii, 50, only in the plu form

It is taken by the Muslim authorities as a genuine Arabic formation from نَصْر, derived either from the name of the village ناصرة,² which was the native village of Jesus, or from نَصَار helpers, the name of the Disciples (cf Sūra, iii, 45)³

Sūra, v, 85, would seem conclusive evidence that the word was in use in pre Islamic times, and indeed the word occurs not uncommonly in the early poetry The question of the origin of the name, however, is exceedingly difficult to solve

The Talmudic name for Christians was נוצרים, a name derived probably from the town of Nazareth, though some would derive it from the name of the sect of Νασσαῖοι.⁴ It is possible that the Arabs learned this word from the Jews, though as the Jews used it more or less as a term of contempt this is hardly likely Also we find the Mandaeans calling themselves נוצרתיא,⁵ which may be from the Ναζωπαῖοι of the N T, though, as it is difficult to imagine the Mandaeans wanting to be known as Christians,⁶ it may be that this

¹ CIS ii 209 l 9 Lidzbarski *Handbuch* 453 Euting *Nab Inschr* No 12 Cook *Glossary* 82 and cf Horovitz *JPN* 224

² Yaqut *Mu jam* iv 729 Raghib *Mufradat* 514 ath Thālabi *Qisas* 272

³ The Commentaries on ii 59 See Hirschfeld *Beitrage* 17 and Sprenger *Leben* ii 533

⁴ Krauss in *JE* ix 194

⁵ Lidzbarski *Mandäische Liturgien* xvi ff Brandt *ERE* viii 384

⁶ Lidzbarski, *ZS* i 233 Noldeke *ZA* xxxiii 74 says aber wie die Mandaer zu dem Namen *Nasoraye* gekommen sind bleibt doch dunkel Pallas *Mandaean Studies* 1926 p 161 suggests that the Mand נוצרתיא is simply the Arabic نَصَارَى which name was assumed by the Mandaeans in Islamic times to escape Muslim persecution, and this is very likely the truth

also represents the *Νασαπαῖοι* of Epiphanius and Jerome,¹ who were a Judæo-Christian sect related to the Elkesites, and the name may have come to the Arabs from this source ²

The most probable origin, however, is the Syr *ܢܘܨܐܝܐ* which represents the *Ναζωπαῖοι* of Acts xxiv, 5, and was a commonly used designation of Christians who lived under Persian suzerainty ³ As it was from this area that the old Arm *նազդաղի* was borrowed,⁴

the case is very strong for the Ar *نصاري* having come from the same source

نَمَارِقْ (*Namāriq*)

lxxxviii, 15

Cushions

Only in an early Sūra in a description of the delights of Paradise al Kindī, *Risāla*, 85, noted it as a loan-word from Persian,⁵ though it is not given as such by al Jawālīqī or as Suyūṭī. It occurs not infrequently in the early poetry for the cushion on a camel's back, and must have been an early borrowing.

Lagarde, *Symmetica*, 1, 60,⁶ pointed out that it is from the Iranian *namr* meaning *soft*. In the old Iranian we find *namrā*,⁷ which gives Av *نامرد* *namra* (Bartholomae, *AIW*, 1042, cf. Skt *नमरा*), and Phlv *نارم* *narm* (West, *Glossary*, 240, Salemann, *Manchäische Studien*, 1, 101), and from some Middle Persian form *namr* + the suffix *ak*, it passed both into Aram *נמרקין* and Ar *نمرق*, for which a plu *نمارق* was then formed.

¹ Epiphanius *Panarion* xxix and Jerome *Comment on Matt* xii

² Bell *Origin* 149 Margoliouth *ERE* x 540 thinks it was Heb

³ Horovitz *KU* 145 146 See also Mungana *Syriac Influence* 96 Fischer *Glossar* 135

⁴ Hubschmann *ZDMG* xlv 245 *Arm Gramm* 1 312

⁵ See also Sprenger *Leben* ii 504 n

⁶ Followed by Fraenkel *Vocab* 8

⁷ This form occurs in *nemr* in the Zaza dialect to day (Horn *Grundriss* No 1028)

نُوح (Nūh)

Occurs some fifty-three times, e g iii, 30, iv, 161, xi, 34

Noah

Some of the Muslim authorities would derive the name from

נָח to *wanl*,¹ though as al-Jawālīqī, *Mu'arrab*, 144, shows, it was commonly recognized as of non Arabic origin ²

The story of Noah was well known in pre Islamic days, and was often referred to by the poets, though as a personal name it apparently was not used among the Arabs before Islam ³

The form of the Ar نُوح is in favour of its having come from the Syr נֹח rather than directly from the Heb נֹח ⁴

نُون (Nūn)

xxi, 87

Fish

Only in the title دُونُون given to Jonah, so that it is the equivalent

of صَاحِبُ الْحَوَاتِ in lxviii, 48, whence came the theory

الحوت العظيم (Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 531, *LA*, xvii, 320)

It is a N Semitic word, cf Akk *nunu*, Aram נִנְיָ, Syr נֹח, and Phon and late Heb נִין Guidi, *Della Sede*, 591, recognized that it was a loan word in Arabic, and there can be little doubt that it was from the Syriac that it entered Arabic, though as the word is used in the early poetry it must have been an early borrowing ⁵

هَارُوتُ وَمَارُوتُ (Hārūt wa Mārūt)

ii, 96

Hārūt and Mārūt are the two fallen angels at Babylon who teach men Magic

¹ Vide Goldziher *ZDMG* xxiv 209

² Vide also Jawharī s v نوح

³ Horovitz *KU* 146

⁴ Margolouth *ERE* x 540 Mingana *Syriac Influence* 82

⁵ It possibly occurs as a proper name in the Safaite inscriptions cf Ryckmans *Noms propres* i 138

The philologists recognized the names as non Arabic, as is clear from al Jawālīqī, *Mu'arrab*, 140¹

Lagarde, *GA*, 15 and 169, identified them with the Haurvatat and Aməretāt of the Avesta,² who were known in later Persia as Khurdād and Murdād,³ and from being nature spirits became names of archangels and were revered by the ancient Armenians as gods

This identification has been generally accepted,⁴ though Nestle, *ZDMG*, lv, 692, wants to compare them with Khillit and Millit,⁵ and Halevy, *JA*, ix^e ser, vol xix, 148 ff, claims that Mārūt is the *Ἀρμαρος* of Enoch vi, 7, which he thinks in the original text may have read **הרמרות** This, however, is unlikely in itself and is practically put out of the question by the fact that the better reading in that passage of Enoch is *Φαρμαρός* It is curious, however, that in the Slavonic Enoch (xxxiii, 11, B), we find appearing the two angel names Ornoch and Marioch⁶

Margolouth, *ERE*, viii, 252, thought that the form of the names pointed to an Aramaic⁷ origin and would look on them as Aramaic personifications of mischief and rebellion, and Wensinck, *EI*, ii, 273, notes that **ܡܕܝܢܐ** is a common Syriac word for power or dominion, so it may be that there has been Aramaic influence on the transmission of the names to Muhammad

هَارُون (*Hārūn*)

Occurs some twenty times, e g ii, 249, iv, 161, xxxvii, 114

Aaron

¹ Vide Sachau's notes p 63 and al Khafajī 183

² It had been earlier recognized cf Boetticher *Horae aramæacæ* Berlin 1847 p 9 and Littmann says that Andreas independently of Lagarde had come to the same conclusion On the spirits see Darmesteter *Haurvatad et Ameretad* 1875

³ On this form of the name see Marquart *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran* ii 214 n 6

⁴ Littmann in *Andreas Festschrift* 84 Tisdall *Sources* 99 Rudolph *Abhangigkeit* 67 75 Fr Muller in *WZKM* viii 278 Marquart *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran* Philol Suppl x 1 1905 p 214 n 6 suggests Phlv

harot and **אמורט** *amurt* which he would derive from O Pers *haruvatah* and *amrtatah* See Herzfeld *Parkulī* Glossary 144

⁵ Burton *Nights* x 130 claimed these as Zoroastrian but Bergmann *MGWJ* xlvii 531, compared them with the Talmudic **חילק וביילק** Horovitz *KU* 148 rightly insists that they could have had no influence on the Qur'anic forms

⁶ See Littmann op cit, 83 Horovitz *KU* 147 *JPN* 164 165

It always refers to the OT Aaron, though in XIX, 29, where Muhammad makes his well known confusion between Miriam the sister of Moses and Mary the mother of Jesus, the exegetes endeavour to show that some other Aaron is meant

The name was commonly recognized as foreign (*LA*, xvii, 326, al Jawālīqī, *Mu'arrab*, 151, *TA*, ix, 367), but its origin is not at once apparent. The Hebrew form is אֶהְרֹן, which by interchange of

the first and second letters, would give us هارون, as some have suggested¹. This interchange, however, is not necessary to explain it, for in the Christian Palestinian dialect we find that the usual אֶהְרֹן has become אֶהְרֹן by dropping the lightly pronounced initial א,² and it was doubtless from this source that the word came into Arabic. It seems to have been known and used by the Arabs long before Islam³.

هَامَانُ (*Hāmān*)

xxviii, 5, 7, 38, xxix, 38, xl, 25, 38

Haman

In the Qur'ān, instead of being concerned in the story of Esther, he figures as a dignitary at the court of Pharaoh in Egypt during the time of Moses

Many of the early authorities recognized it as a foreign name (al-Jawālīqī, *Mu'arrab*, 153, al-Khafajī, 207). There was an attempt by some of the exegetes to make out that this هَامَان was a different person from the Haman of the Esther story, whom they call

as Geiger, 156, notes. There is no doubt, however, that by هَامَان is meant the אֶהְרֹן of Esth. iii,⁴ and we may find the source of the confusion in xxix, 38, xl, 25, where he is associated with Korah, for in Rabbinic legends Haman and Korah were bracketed together.

The probabilities are that the word came to the Arabs from Jewish sources ✓

¹ Sycz *Eigennamen*, 43 but see Horovitz *JPN* 161

² Schulthess *Lex* 3 and cf. the *Palestinian Syriac Dictionary* p. 51

³ Horovitz *KU* 149 *JPN* 162

⁴ Sycz *Eigennamen*, 41 Horovitz *KU* 149 Eisenberg *EI* ii 245

هَآوِيَة (Hāwrya)

ci, 6

The verse is early Meccan, and *Hāwrya* is apparently one of the names of Hell

The passage reads “and as for him whose balances are light—*Hāwrya* is his mother And who shall teach you what that is ? It is a raging fire”

The common explanation is that هَآوِيَة is إِسْمُ الْبَارِ, but this obviously depends on the بَارِحَامِيَة at the end of the verse, and makes the هَآوِيَة difficult,¹ so some Commentators said that هَآوِيَة in this passage means *skull* and that هَآوِيَة is the participle of هَوَى to fall, the verse meaning that he was to be cast into the abyss (Zam and ar Rāzī in loc) ² Others, however, insisted that هَآوِيَة must have its natural sense of *mother*, and هَآوِيَة must mean *childless*, as in the old poetry هَوَتْ أُمُّهُ means “his mother is bereft of him” (Tab and LA, xx, 250)

Sprengr, *Leben*, II, 503, claims that this latter was the only natural explanation of the word, and Fischer in the *Noldeke Festschrift*, I, 33 ff, makes an elaborate defence of it ³ If this is correct, then the two later clauses are meaningless, and Fischer takes them as a later interpolation by someone who had no clue to the meaning ⁴ This is a tempting solution, but a little difficult, as the concluding clauses are quite characteristic, and as Torrey points out (*Browne Festschrift*, 467), the curious lengthened form of the pron in هِيَه which is paralleled by such forms as كِتَابِيَه and سُلْطَانِيَه in lxix, is unlikely to have been the work of a later interpolator

¹ The usual way out is to make هَآوِيَة mean مَاوَاه cf Shaikh Zade s super commentary to Bard in loc

² BDB 217 equate هَآوِيَة meaning *pit of hell* with هَآوِيَة a chasm cf Syr ܠܗܘܝܬܐ a gulf or chasm

³ His arguments have been accepted by Goldziher *Vorlesungen* 33 and Casanova *Mohammed et la Fin du Monde* 153

⁴ He thinks that the هَآوِيَة was borrowed from lxxxviii 4

Torrey's own suggestion is that it is the Heb **אָנָה** *disaster*, occurring in Is xlvii, 11, and Ez vii, 26 Torrey thinks that this word would have been very frequently on the lips of the Jews whom Muhammad met, "every educated Jew had it at his tongue's end The whole splendid passage in Isaiah may well have been recited to Muhammad many times, with appropriate paraphrase or comment in his own tongue, for his edification The few hell fire passages in the Hebrew Scriptures must have been of especial interest to him, and it would be strange if some teacher had not been found to gratify him in this respect"—p 471

There are objections, however, to this theory Neither of the O T passages mentioned above, though they do prophesy destruction, can strictly be called "hell fire" passages, and the word neither in the Bible nor in the Rabbinic writings seems to have any connection with "hell fire", as the Qur'an certainly thinks it has, if we are to admit the authenticity of the whole passage Moreover this Sūra is very early, much earlier than the time when he had much contact with the Jews, even if we could admit that the word was as constantly on Jewish lips as Torrey supposes It would seem rather to have been one of those strange words picked up by Muhammad in his contact with foreigners in Mecca in his early years, and thus more likely of Christian[✓] than of Jewish origin One might venture a suggestion that it is connected with the Eth[✓] **ሐወደ**,¹ which in the form **ሐዋደ** means the fiery red glow of the evening sky (cf Matt xvi, 2), and as **ሐው** means *fire* or *burning coal* This at least gives us the connection with **بارحاميہ**, and the change of guttural is not difficult in Ethiopic where such changes are common

وَثَنٌ (*Wathn*)

xxii, 31, xxix, 16, 24

An idol

Used only in the plu **أَوْثَان**, and only in fairly late passages

The word **ሐፀ** occurs in the S Arabian inscriptions,² and as this corresponds with the Eth **ወተን** (plu **ሐውተን**)³ meaning *idol*,

¹ Mainz in *Der Islam* xxiii 300 suggests **(ወሐደ)** **ጠፀፀ**

² *JA* vii c ser vol xix p 374 Rossini *Glossarium*, 142

³ Cheikho, *Naṣrāniya* 206 wrongly gives this as **ወሐን**

we may agree with Fraenkel, *Fremdw*, 273, that the word came from S Arabia ✓ Margolouth, *ERE*, ٧١, 249, however, thinks that it is perhaps connected with the Heb *עש* *old*, which may have been used as a term of abuse

وَرْدَة (*Warda*)

lv, 37

Rose

The passage is eschatological and وردة means *rose red*, referring to the colour of the sky, a meaning derived, of course, from the original sense of *rose*

It was very commonly recognized that it was a loan word,¹ though it is curious that the philologists make no suggestion as to its origin, for it is obviously a borrowing from Persia ✓ The primitive Indo European root **urdho* means a *spiny tree*, from which comes the Gk *ρόδον* = *φρόδον*, and the Av *𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬀* *varəda* (Bartholomae, *AIW*, 1369), whence Arm *լարդ* *rose*,² and Phlv *𐤅𐤓𐤁𐤀* *varta* (*PPGI*, 228)³ From the Iranian it was borrowed into Semitic,⁴ where we find Aram *ܐܪܕܐ*, Syr *ܐܪܕܐ*,⁵ and from the Aram, ✓ as Fraenkel, *Vocab*, 11, noted, it passed into Arabic As a proper name *Ουάρδα*, is found in the N Arabian inscriptions⁶

وَزِير (*Wazīr*)

xx, 30, xxv, 37

A minister, counsellor

Both passages refer to Aaron being given to Moses as his *Wazīr*, where the reference is obviously to Ex iv, 16

¹ as Suyutī *Itq* 325 *Muzhar* i 137 al Jawahiri *Mu arrab* 151 *TA* ii 531

² Hubschmann *Arm Gramm* i 244 So Sogd *wrđ* (Henning *Manichaisches Beschreibung* 1937 p 137) and Parthian *w r* (Henning *BSOS* ix 88)

³ Though some suspect the Phlv form of being a reborrowing from Semitic *vide* Horn *Grundriss* 207 Frahang *Glossary* 77 Mod Pers borrowed back ورد from Arabic in Islamic times

⁴ Cf Telegdi in *JA* ccxxvi (1935) p 241

⁵ Cf also the Mand *ܐܪܕܐ* Noldeke *Mand Gramm* 56 and cf Zimmern, *Akkad Fremdw* 55 for an even earlier borrowing

⁶ Wuthnow, *Die semitischen Menschennamen in griechischen Inschriften und Papyri des vorderen Orients* 1930 p 92 Ryckmans, *Noms propres* i 81

The usual explanation of the word is that it is a form **فعل** from **ورر** to *bear* or *carry*, and thus means one who carries the burdens of the Prince (cf Rāghib, *Mufradāt*, 542) Lagarde, *Übersicht*, 177, n, however, pointed out that it is an Iranian[✓] word, and in his *Arm Stud*, § 2155, he derives it from the Phlv **𐭥𐭥𐭥** *vičr*, which originally meant a *decree, mandate, command*, but which later, as in the *Dinkard*, came to mean *judge* or *magistrate*¹ This word, of course, is good Iranian, being from the Av **𐬯𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌** *vičira* meaning *deciding*,² which was borrowed into Arm as **վճիւ**,³ and is related to the form behind the Mod Pers **وچر** or **وحر** *judge*⁴, **کړیر** or *prefect*,⁵ and **وریر**, which is generally regarded as a loan word from Arabic but which Bartholomae, *AIW*, 1438, rightly takes as a genuine derivative from the older Iranian[✓] word

The borrowing was doubtless direct from the Middle Persian[✓], for the Syr **ܘܪܝܐ** seems to be late and a borrowing from Arabic (*PSm*, 1061)

يَا حُوحُ وَمَا حُوحُ (Yājūj wa Mājūj)

xviii, 93, xx1, 96

Gog and Magog

Both passages are reflections of Syriac legends concerning Alexander the Great

It was recognized very commonly that the names were non Arabic (cf al Jawahiqī, *Mu'arrab*, 140, 156, al Khafajī, 215, *LA*, iii, 28), and there was some doubt as to whether they should be read with Hamza or without

The names were apparently well known in pre Islamic Arabia, and we find references to them in the early poetry, where the statements about them would indicate that knowledge of them came to Arabia

¹ West *Glossary* 237 It was a fairly common word and enters into a number of compounds cf Nyberg *Glossar* 242

² Bartholomae *AIW* 1438 Reichelt *Avestisches Elementarbuch* 490

³ Hubschmann *Arm Gramm* 1 248 Spiegel *Huzvareš Grammatik* Wien 1856 p 188

⁴ Vullers *Lex* 11 1411

⁵ Vullers *Lex*, 11 1000 Horn *Grundriss* 242 Hubschmann *Pers Studien* 94

from Christian eschatological writings¹ The names, of course, were originally Heb **גג** and **גגג**, which in Syr are **ܓܓ** and **ܓܓܓ** In the Syriac Alexander legend **ܓܓ** is generally spelled **ܓܓܐ**,² which is a variant reading of the word in the Qur'ān (Noldeke, *Qorans*, 270) The Mandaean demons Hag and Mag, which Horovitz, *JPN*, 163, quotes, are more likely to be derived from the Qur'ān than the Qur'ānic names from them³

يَاقُوت (Yāqūt)

lv, 58

Ruby

It was very generally recognized as a loan word from Persian⁴ Some Western scholars such as Freytag⁵ have accepted this at face value, but the matter is not so simple, for the Modern Pers **ياقوت** is from the Arabic (Vullers, *Lex*, II, 1507), and the alternative form **ياكد**, like the Arm **յակդ**, is from the Syr **ܝܝܕܐ**⁶

The ultimate source of the word is the Gk *νακινθος*, used as a flower name as early as the Iliad,⁷ and which passed into the Semitic languages, cf Aram **ܝܩܝܢܝܐ**⁸, Syr **ܝܝܕܐ**, and into Arm as **յակին**⁹ It was from Syr **ܝܝܕܐ** that the word passed into Eth as **ዮኒት**,¹⁰ and with dropping of the weak **ܝ** into Arabic¹¹

It occurs in the old poetry (cf Geyer, *Zwei Gedichte*, I, 119), and thus must have been an early borrowing

¹ Noldeke *Alexanderroman*, *passim* Mingana *Syriac Influence* 95 Geiger 74 however would derive the names from Rabbinic legend See Horovitz *KU* 150

² Cf Budge's edition of the metrical discourse of Jacob of Serug in *ZA* vi 357 ff

³ See on them Lidzbarski *Ginza* p 154 Brandt *Mandäische Schriften* p 144

⁴ al Jawahiri *Mu'arrab* 156 ath Tha'alibi *Fih* 317 as Suyuti *Itq* 325 *Mutaw* 47 48 at Khafaji 216 *TA* I 598

⁵ *Lexicon* sub voc

⁶ Noldeke in Bessenberger's *Beiträge* IV 63 Brockelmann *ZDMG* XLVII 7

⁷ II xiv 348 Boissacq 996 points out that the word is pre Hellenic

⁸ For other forms see Krauss *Griechische Lehnwörter* II 212

⁹ Hubschmann *Arm Gramm* I 366

¹⁰ Noldeke *Neue Beiträge* 40

¹¹ Fraenkel *Vocab* 6 *Fremdw* 61 Mingana *Syriac Influence* 90 Vullers, *ZDMG* LI 305 Note also Parthian *y kwnd* (Henning *BSOS* IX 89)

يَحْيَى (*Yahyā*)

III, 34, VI, 85, XIX, 7, 13, XXI, 90

John the Baptist

Usually the Muslim authorities derive the name from the Arabic verb of similar form, and say that John was so called because of his quickening virtue, either in quickening the barrenness of his mother, or in quickening the faith of his people¹ Some felt that they were com-

mitted to an Arabic origin of the name by Sūra XIX, 8—لَمْ يَخْلُ لَهُ, which, however, as Marracci pointed out,² is merely a misunderstanding of Lk 1, 61, and there were some (e.g. Baid on III, 34, and XIX, 8)³ who knew and admitted that it was a foreign name

We may be sure that the name came into Arabic from some Christian or Christianized source

Sprenger, *Leben*, II, 335, thought that perhaps it might have come from the Sābiāns, for in the Mandaeān books we find the name in the form 𐤒𐤒𐤓 (Lidzbarski, *Johannesbuch*, II, 73), but the probability is that this form is due to Islamic influence⁴

A more subtle theory is that it is a misreading for يَحْيَى which would be derived from the Syr ܝܚܝܝܝ ⁵ The primitive script had no vowel points, and ܝܚܝܝܝ might have been read ܝܚܝܝܝ as easily as ܝܚܝܝܝ⁶

This solution has much in its favour, and might be accepted were it not for the fact that we have epigraphical evidence from N. Arabia that in pre-Islamic times Christians in that area were using a form 𐤒𐤒𐤓, probably derived from the Syriac⁷ Jaussen and Savignac found this

¹ Tab on III 34 and ath Thālabī *Qisas* 262

² *Refutationes* 435 So Sayous 27 n Palmer *Qoran* II 27 n Pautz *Offenbarung* 254

³ So al Khafajī 215 al Ukbarī *Imlā* I 88 Zam halts between two opinions

⁴ Noldeke *JA*, xxx 159

⁵ Noldeke noted that ܝܚܝܝܝ from which ܝܚܝܝܝ was formed can occur in a hypochoristic form 𐤒𐤒𐤓 and as a matter of fact 𐤒𐤒𐤓 or 𐤒𐤒𐤓 does occur in late Jewish names and Fraenkel *WZKM* IV 337 and Grimme *Mohammed* II 96 n 8 have thought that ܝܚܝܝܝ could be derived from this Barth *Der Islam* VI 126 n and Mingana *Syriac Influence* 84 have rightly insisted however that the name is of Christian not Jewish origin

⁶ Barth op cit Casanova *JA* 1924 p 357 Margoliouth *ERE* x 547 Cheikhō *Asranīya* 189 Torrey *Foundation* pp 50 51

⁷ But see Lidzbarski *Johannesbuch* II 73 and Rhodokanakis *WZKM* XVII 283

form **𐤏𐤕𐤓** in a graffito at Al 'Ala,¹ and it is possibly found again in another inscription from the same area.² It would thus seem that Muhammad was using a form of the name already naturalized among the northern Arabs, though there appears to be no trace of the name in the early literature

يَعْقُوبُ (*Ya'qūb*)

ii, 126-134, iii, 78, iv, 161, vi, 84, xi, 74, xii, 6, 38, 68, xix, 6, 50, xxi, 72, xxix, 26, xxxviii, 45

Jacob

He is never mentioned save in connection with some other member of the Patriarchal group

There were some who considered it as Arabic derived from **عقب**, but in general it was recognized as a foreign word, cf al Jawalīqī, 155, Zam on xix, 57, Baid on ii, 29, as Suyūṭī, *Muzhar*, i 138, 140, al Khafāḡī, 215. Apparently it was known among the Arabs in pre Islamic days.³

It may have come from the Heb **יעקב**, though the fact that Muhammad has got his relationship somewhat mixed⁴ might argue that he got the name from Christian sources probably from the Syr **ܝܥܩܘܒ**,⁵ which was the source of the name in the Manichaean fragments (Salemann, *Manichaersche Studien*, i, 86)

يَعُوثُ (*Yaghūth*)

lxxi, 23

Yaghuth

It is said to have been an idol in the form of a lion, worshipped among the people of Jurash and the Banū Madhhij.⁶ It would thus

¹ *Mission archeologique* ii 228. For the form **𐤏𐤕𐤓** see Euting *Sin Inschr*, No 585. *CIS* ii 1026

² Lidzbarski *Ephemeris* iii 296 and cf Horovitz *KU* 151 for an inscription from Harran. It is possible that a Jewish form **𐤏𐤕𐤓** occurs in the Elephantine papyri (cf Cowley *Aramaic Papyri* No 81 l 28) but the reading is not sure

³ Cheikhō *Nasraniya* 234. Horovitz *KU* 153. Horovitz plays with the idea that it may have been a genuine old Arab name. Cf *JPN* 152

⁴ xi 74 on which see Hurgonje *Verspreide Geschriften* i 24

⁵ Mingana *Syrac Influence* 82

⁶ Ibn al Kalbī *Kitab al Asnam* p 10. Wellhausen *Reste* 19 ff. Ryckmans *Noms propres* i 16

appear to be of S Arabian origin, and this is confirmed by the fact that we find תַּם-יֵעֶת in the Thamudic inscriptions,¹ and 'Iaoûthos in Safaite² and Thamudic³

The name would seem to mean *helper* (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, iv, 1022), and the S Arabian 𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩬 means to *help* (cf Ar عاث, Heb עוּשׁ, Rossini, *Glossarium*, 215)

يَقْطِينُ (Yaqṭīn)

xxxvii, 146

A gourd

The word occurs in the Jonah story for the gourd tree which Allah caused to grow up over the Prophet. The reference is obviously to the Biblical story in Jonah iv, 6-11, and يَقْطِينُ seems to be an attempt to reproduce the קִיקִיּוֹן of the Hebrew story.⁴ The word was apparently heard during an oral recitation of the story, and then reproduced from memory in this garbled form

يَقِينُ (Yaqīn)

iv, 156, xv, 99, xxvii, 22, lvi, 95, lxi, 51, lxxiv, 48, cxii, 5, 7

Certain

The simple verb يَقِي does not occur in the Qur'ān, but we find يَقِي

ii, 3, v, 55, etc, اِسْتَقِي xxvii, 14, lxxiv, 31, and the participles

يَقِي and مُسْتَقِي, besides مَوْقِي

At first sight it seems clearly to be a borrowing, for there is no Semitic ق, and yet we find both يَقِي and the verbal forms there from used in the oldest poetry, so it must have come into the language

¹ D H Müller *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien* p 19 Littmann *Entzifferung* 27 32 It is possible that we have a parallel to the name in the Edomitish proper name יְעוֹשׁ, in Gen xxxvi 18

² Dussaud et Macler *Voyage archeol au Safa* p 77 Wuthnow *Die semitischen Menschnennamen* p 56

³ Ryckmans, *Noms propres* i 174 Hess *Entzifferung* Nos 46 67

⁴ So Torrey *Foundation* 52

at an early date The prevalent theory is that it is derived from Gk [✓]εἰκών through the Aramaic [✓]עִקוֹן means *image, likeness, similitude*, and from עִקוֹנָא were borrowed the Aram יְקוֹנָא ², Syr ܝܩܢܐ meaning *image, picture* From ܝܩܢܐ was formed a verb ܝܩܢܐ to *depict, describe*, whence ܝܩܢܐ and ܝܩܢܐ mean *characteristic* From some dialectal form of ܝܩܢܐ the word must have passed into Arabic

يَمَّ (Yamm)

vii, 132, xx, 39, 81, 97, xxviii, 6, 40, li, 40

Sea, flood, river

It is used only in the Moses story, and refers sometimes to the Nile, sometimes to the sea It was early recognized as foreign (Siddiqi, *Studien*, 13),³ though the early authorities were uncertain of its origin al Jawālīqī, *Mu'arrab*, 156, says it is Syriac, which was also the opinion of Ibn Qutaiba,⁴ according to as Suyūṭī, *Itq*, 326 as Suyūṭī, however, also tells us that Ibn al Jawzī said it was Hebrew and Shaidala that it was Coptic ⁵

It apparently came to Arabic from Syriac [✓]ܝܡܐ, as Fraenkel, *Vocab*, 21, saw,⁶ though it may possibly have come into Arabic from some primitive non Semitic source The word clearly is not Semitic, for Heb יָם, Phon ים, Aram ימא, and Ras Shamra ים cannot be explained from Semitic material, and the word is a loan word in Egyptian *jm*, Coptic יא.מ, יוא.מ, or ειο.מ, and in Akk *ramu* As the word occurs in the old poetry and was an early borrowing we cannot be absolutely sure that it was not primitive, having come into Arabic, as into the other Semitic languages, from some autochthonous source

يَهُود (Yahūd)

ii, 107, 114, iii, 60, v, 21, 56, 69, 85, ix, 30

The Jews

¹ Fraenkel, *Fremdw* 273 Vollers *ZDMG* l 617 li 305 who depend, however on a suggestion of Noldeke

² Beside the much more common אֵיקוֹנִיךָ from εἰκόνας

³ Cf as Suyūṭī, *Muzhir* i 130 and *LA* xvi 134

⁴ *Adab al Katib* 527

⁵ *Mutaw* 55 57

⁶ So Fraenkel *Fremdw* 231, quoting Noldeke and cf Guidi *Delle Sede* 573

We also find the form **هود** in 11, 105, 129, 134, and the denominative verb **هاد**, 11, 59, 14, 48, etc

The philologers recognized it as a foreign word, though they were uncertain whether to derive it from Hebrew¹ or Persian² It is curious that anyone should have sought for a Persian origin, and yet Addai Sher, 158, accepts the theory, claiming that **هوداً**, **يهود**, **هاد**,

with the meaning of **رحم الى الحق** is from the Pers **هوده** It is true that in *Šāyast ne šāyast*, vi, 7, we find Phlv **𐭮𐭥𐭥** *Yahūt*,³ and in Avestic the form **𐬨𐬀𐬯𐬭𐬀** *Yahūd*, but these, like the *řaxūd* of the Christian Soghdian texts (cf Jansen's "Worterverzeichnis" to F W K Muller's *Soghdische Texte*, p 93), are obviously derived from the Aramaic

Hirschfeld, *New Researches*, 27, thinks that Muhammad's use of the verb **هاد** shows that he got the word from Jewish Aramaic sources,⁴ and not understanding it perfectly, gave it an Arabic etymology by connecting it with the root **هاد** to *repent*, which is the reason for the form **هود** beside **يهود** The fatal objection to this theory, however, is

that we find the form **يهودی** in the old poetry,⁵ so that it would have been well known in Arabia before Muhammad's day Horovitz points out that in the Qur'ān **يهود** always means the Jews of Muhammad's day, the Jews of antiquity being referred to as Banū Israil

The word **𐤅𐤁𐤏** occurs in the S Arabian inscriptions (Glaser, 394/5),⁶ and Grimme, *ZA*, xxvi, 161 suggests that it came to the Hijāz from the South, which is very possible, though the ultimate origin, of course, will be the Jewish **יהודי**

¹ al Jawalīqī *Mu arrab* 157 as Suyūṭī *Itq* 326 al Khafajī 216

² as Suyūṭī *Mutaw* 47

³ Salemann *Manichaäische Studien* 1 87 and the Paz *Zuhud* in Shikand *Glossary* Cf also Henning *Manichaica* iii 66

⁴ So also p 104 *Beitrage* 15 ff Pautz *Offenbarung* 121 Grunbaum *ZDMG*, xl 285 Horovitz *KU* 154 Geiger 113

⁵ Imru l Qais xl 7 (Ahlwardt *Divans* p 141) and see Margolouth *Schweich Lectures* 79

⁶ See Ryckmans *Noms propres*, 1 231 299

يُوسُفُ (Yūsuf)

Occurs twenty-two times in Sūra xii, elsewhere only in vi, 84, and xl, 36

Joseph

The early authorities differed as to whether it was an Arabic word derived from ^أسَف or a borrowing from Hebrew (ath Tha'labi,

Qisas, 75) Zam on xii, 4, in his usual vigorous style combats the theory of an Arabic origin, and al Jawālīqī, *Mu'arrab*, 155, also notes it as foreign ¹

Geiger, 141, and Sycz, *Eigennamen*, 26, 27, would take it as a direct borrowing from the Heb ^{יִסְחַק}, but the Syr ^{ܝܘܨܬ} or Eth ^{ዮሴፍ} might equally well have been the source Grimme, *ZA*, xxvi, 166, on the ground that in N Arabia we should expect a form *Yūsuf* rather than *Yūsuf*, would have the name derived from S Arabia If the Muslim

legends about Dhū Nawās can be trusted, the name ^{يوسف} would have been known in S Arabia, for they tell us that his name was ^{يوسف}

^{س نرحيل} The name, however, appears to have been known also in the N, for we find a Yūsuf b 'Abdallah b Salām in *Uṣd al Ghāba*, v, 132 ² One suspects that the name came from Jewish sources rather than Christian

يُونُسُ (Yūnus)

iv, 161, vi, 86, x, 98, xxxvii, 139

Jonah

He is also referred to as ^{صاحب الحوت} in lxviii, 48, and as ^{دو الدون} in xxi, 87

Some early authorities endeavoured to derive it from ^{آس}, but Zam on xii, 4, vigorously combats the view that the variant readings ^{يُونَسَ} and ^{يُونِسَ} given by Jawhārī, s v ^{أس}, provide any ground for such a derivation, and al-Jawālīqī, *Mu'arrab*, 155, al Khafājī, 215, give it as foreign

¹ So al Khafājī 215 and see Sprenger, *Leben*, ii 336

² Horovitz *KU* 154

The form of the word is conclusive evidence that it came to Muhammad from Christian sources ¹ The Heb יהוה becomes 'Iwāṣ in the LXX and N T, and Sprenger would derive the Arabic form directly from the Greek ² This is hardly likely, however, from what we know of the passage of Biblical names into Arabic, and as a matter of fact we find the final **س** both in the Eth 𐩨𐩣𐩬 and in the Christian-Palestinian ܝܘܨܬ, ³ which occurs regularly for the Edessene ܝܘܨ or ܝܘܨܬ Grimme, *ZA*, xxvi, 166 thinks that in N Arabia we would expect a form *Yūnas* and that *Yūnus* is due to S Arabian influence, but there is as little to this as to his similar theory of *Yūsuf* and *Yūsuf* The fact that the Arm Եւսէփ is from Syr ⁴, though from the classical dialect, would lead us to conclude that the Qur'ānic form also came from Syriac ✓

The name was possibly known among the pre Islamic Arabs, though the examples collected from the literature are doubtful ⁵

¹ This is admitted even by Hirschfeld *Beitrage* 56 See also Sycz *Eigennamen* 48 Horovitz *KU* 155 Mingana *Syriac Influence* 83 Rudolph *Abhängigkeit* 47

² *Leben* II 32 and Margoliouth *ERE* x 540

³ Schulthess *Lex* 82 *Christ Palast Fragments* (1905) p 122

⁴ Hübschmann *Arm Gramm* I 295

⁵ Passages in Cheikho *Nasraniya* 234 275 276 and see Horovitz *KU* 155 *JPN* 170

ADDENDA^v

- p 32, line 3 —Unless the Nabataean ^ⲗⲁⲣⲓⲁ is intended to represent the Aram **אָרִיא**, Syr **ⲁⲣⲓⲁ** (cf Heb **אָרִיָּה** **אָרִי** Eth **አርዳ**)
- p 94, line 8 —Akk *u dun tum* Rather *atūnu* from Sumerian *udūna* cf Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*, 55 b
- p 121, line 7 —It is possible that the Heb **חֹתָם**, Aram **ܚܬܡܐ**, **ܚܬܡܐ** are borrowed words, and an Egyptian origin has been suggested (*ZDMG*, xlv, 685, xlv, 117)
- p 123, line 5 —^ⲗⲁⲣⲓⲁ *Psm* 751 gives this as the form in Man daean the normal Syriac form is **ⲁⲣⲓⲁ** (*Psm* 696)
- p 179, line 9 —**ܡܢܠ** The *nūn* must have been pronounced originally in this word, as it is from **ܢܠ** See on it Fraenkel, *Fremdw* 133
- p 186, n 1 —Both the noun and the verb are found in this technical sense in the old poetry cf al A'shā, *Dīwān* (ed Geyer), lxvi, 9

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- 5 **Kṛtyakalpataru** of Lakṣmīdhara, minister of King Govindachandra of Kanauj, edited by Principal K V Rangaswami Aiyangar, Hindu University, Benares
- 6 **Brhaspati Smṛti**, being a reconstructed text of the now lost work of Brhaspati edited by Principal K V Rangaswami Aiyangar, Hindu University, Benares
- 7 **A Descriptive Catalogue of MSS in the Oriental Institute Baroda** compiled by K S Ramaswami Sastri, Śrauta, Pandit, Oriental Institute Baroda, 12 vols, vol II (Śrauta, Dharma, and Grhya Sūtras)
- 8 **Mādhavānala-Kāmakandalā** a romance in old Western Rajasthan by Gaṇapati, a Kāyastha from Anod edited by M R Majumdar, M A, LL B
- 9 **Tattvopaplava** a masterly criticism of the opinions of the prevailing Philosophical Schools by Jayarāśi edited by Pandit Sukhalalji of the Benares Hindu University
- 10 **Anekantajayapataka** of Haribhadra Suri (c A D 1120) with his own commentary and Tīppanaka by Muni chandra the Guru of Vāḍideva Sūri edited by H R Kapadia, M A
- 11 **Parama-Saṁhitā** an authoritative work on the Pāñcharātra system, edited by Dewan Bahadur S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, of Madras

III BOOKS UNDER PREPARATION

- 1 **Prajñāpāramitās** commentaries on the Prajñāpāramitā, a Buddhist philosophical work edited by Prof Giuseppe Tucci, 2 vols, vol II
- 2 **Śaktisāngama Tantra** comprising four books on Kālī, Tārā, Sundarī, and Chhinnamastā edited by B Bhattacharyya, Ph D, 4 vols, vols II-IV
- 3 **Nāṭyadarpaṇa** introduction in Sanskrit giving an account of the antiquity and usefulness of the Indian drama, the different theories on Rasa, and an examination of the problems raised by the text, by L B Gandhi, 2 vols, vol II
- 4 **Gurjararāsāvalī** a collection of several old Gujarati Rāsas edited by Messrs B K Thakore, M D Desai, and M C Modi
- 5 **Tarkabhāṣā** a work on Buddhist Logic, by Moksākara Gupta of the Jagaddala monastery edited with a Sanskrit commentary by Pandit Embar Krishnama-charya of Vadatal
- 6 **A Descriptive Catalogue of MSS in the Oriental Institute, Baroda** compiled by the Library staff, 12 vols, vol III (Smṛti MSS)

